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ABSTRACT

Racist incidents that graduate students in psychology may experience can be reflective of Eurocentric values and forces which permeate present institutions. To better understand these forces, the experiences and perceptions of racism as experienced by minority graduate students are explored. Seventeen doctoral students in psychology, who identified themselves as African American, Black, or biracial (African/American/Caucasian), were asked open-ended questions, covering such areas as general experiences of racism within education, and were administered a demographics questionnaire. Their responses were organized into three different categories: (1) general life experiences of racism; (2) experiences of racism within education; and (3) experiences of racism particular to graduate training in psychology. The results indicated various dimensions of racism and included specific/overt incidents, chronic conditions (racism embedded in a context), daily micro-experiences (events), and vicarious/collective experiences of racism. Examples are provided of overt racism, questioning of status and abilities, exclusion from social events/study groups, problematic relationships with professors and academic advisors, family issues, minimization of ideas, contributions, ethnicity, conflict arising in relation to sociopolitical issues/events (e.g., O.J. Simpson trial), interracial conflicts, ethnic identity issues, being the "only one," being silenced, vicarious experiences of racism, racism within administrative policies and practices, the lack of students and faculty of color, teaching styles and evaluation criteria, lack of support within educational programs, etc. Based on the current research it could be argued that racism over the years has not necessarily lessened, just changed form. Contains approximately 95 references. (RJM)

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Experiences and Perceptions of Interpersonal, Environmental, and Institutional Racism among African-American Students in Psychology Graduate Training.

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by

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Introduction

To what extent (if any) is racism experienced in the educational system? What is the nature and extent of racism experienced in psychology graduate training? These questions emerge from the fact that over the last 30 years, profound changes have occurred in patterns of college attendance among students of color. The numbers of ethnic minority students have grown substantially (Allen, 1988). In 1950, over 90% of African-American college students (approximately 100,000) were educated in traditionally African-American schools. Of the 4,000,000 students on U.S. college campuses in 1960, 200,000 were African-American, and enrollment at historically African-American institutions numbered roughly 130,000. However, the period of the midsixties and early seventies marked a significant turning point in the number of African-American and other ethnic minority students admitted to colleges and universities. Enrollment for the 1980's showed that four out of every five minority students are enrolled at predominantly White institutions (Livingston & Stewart, 1987).

Within the field of psychology (as well as in higher education in general), the underrepresentation of minority students is apparent. While ethnic minorities constitute more than 20% of the population of the United States, in 1993-1994 they earned only 7.9% of doctoral degrees awarded in psychology (APA, 1995). With respect to all degrees conferred in the field of psychology, Hispanics accounted for only 3.4% of bachelor's, 3.3% of master's, and 2% of doctoral degrees during 1993-1994. Further, demographic research indicates that less than 2% of all psychologists in the United States are of Hispanic origin. African-Americans earned 6.7% of all bachelor's degrees, 5.1% of all master's degrees, and 3.9% of all doctoral degrees in the field of psychology from 1993-1994. Although the numbers of African-American psychologists have increased, only about 2.2% of all psychologists in the nation are African-American. By 1994, only 1% of psychologists in the United States were Asian Americans. In 1994 Asian Americans earned 2.1% of bachelor's degrees, 1.5% of master's, and 1.8% of doctoral degrees. Native Americans are the most underrepresented minority group in higher education and gained fewer degrees in 1994 than any other group. It is suggested that Native Americans represent only 0.2% of psychologists in the United States. Native Americans obtained 0.5% of bachelor's, 0.4% of master's, and 0.2% of all doctoral degrees in the field of psychology as of 1994 (APA, 1995). Some factors attributed to the underrepresentation in the field of psychology may be associated with a lack of encouragement and guidance toward psychology careers on the part of American academic institutions. Other factors may be attributed to academic, personal, and institutional barriers (i.e., lack of administrative and faculty support and an inhospitable academic community) that affect the optimal functioning of minorities in psychology (Diaz, 1990).

Status of Current Theory and Research

Historically, the academic, social , and personal lives of ethnic minority students have been fraught with many problems (Westbrook, Miyares, & Joyce, 1978). Research conducted during the 1970's and 1980's suggests that in addition to the "normal" stressors experienced during college, ethnic minority students are often further forced to deal with discrimination and racism as part of their educational experience (Edmunds, 1984; Fleming, 1981; Nettles, 1981c; Westbrook et al., 1978). While universities have increased the numbers of minority students, many universities have paid little attention to the special needs of minority students (Madrazo-Peterson & Rodriquez, 1978). Researchers found that despite the fact that more students of color are entering four-year predominately White universities, their attrition rates were so high that few received a baccalaureate degree (Nettles, 1981c). African-American students, in particular, are reported to be disadvantaged in terms of persistence rates, academic achievement levels, enrollment in advanced degree programs, and overall psychosocial adjustments (Allen, 1988).

Several problems arise based upon the fact that ethnic minority students oftentimes encounter, within the microcosm of the university, the same elements and experiences of racism that they confront in the larger society. "But when this reality is experienced against the backdrop of hope and promise anticipated through higher education, it often serves to exacerbate the differences of minorities within a society and university which largely exhibit white tradition and values" (Burbach & Thompson, 1971, p. 248).

Current research (DeFour & Hirsch, 1990; Johnson-Durgans, 1994; King, 1991; Nottingham, Rosen, & Parks, 1992; Peterson, 1990; Wilson & Stith, 1993) reflects these same themes. Porche-Burke (1990) states that it is extremely difficult for students of color to prosper in institutional settings where racism exists and is not dealt with. She further proposes that if an institution is truly committed to making opportunities available to ethnic minority students, institutional racism must be addressed. If this does not occur, it is likely that the student may not feel positively about their education and training experience. Attrition rates are also evident within graduate study, and stress is highly likely to effect these rates (Hodgson & Simoni, 1995).

During the past 30 years, much effort has been expended in the measurement of the university campus environment (Pfeifer & Schneider, 1974). Research has explored general stressors related to the student experience (Bath, 1961; Cahir & Morris, 1991; Gadzella, 1994; Hale, 1975; Hodgson & Simoni, 1995; Kohn, Lafreniere, & Gurevich, 1990) and general stressors related to ethnic minority students (Edmunds, 1984; Fleming, 1981; Gunnings, 1982; Pliner & Brown, 1985). Studies have also compared the African-American and White student experience (Johnson-Durgans, 1994; Nettles 1981; Pfeifer & Schneider, 1974; Westbrook, Miyares, & Roberts, 1978) and retention and attrition issues in relation to ethnic minority students (Guloyan, 1986; Sanders, 1987; Sedlacek & Webster, 1978; Tinto, 1975). More specifically, several studies have examined social support and alienation in relation to the ethnic minority experience (Burbach & Thompson, 1971; Steward, Germain, & Jackson, 1992; Stewart & Vaux, 1986). Wright (1978) states that a predominately White university setting is more stressful for African-American students because of factors of racism and cultural differences between the majority and minority populations. Research examining issues relevant specifically to ethnic minorities has also been conducted (Allen, 1985; Gibbs, 1973, 1974; Livingston & Stewart, 1987; Lunneborg & Lunneborg, 1986; Madrazo-Peterson & Rodriquez, 1978; Maynard, 1980; Nottingham, Rosen, & Parks, 1992; Oliver, Rodriguez, Mickelson, 1985; Parker & Scott, 1985; Soler & Young, 1995; Wang, Sedlacek, & Westbrook, 1992; Wright, 1978; Wyche & Frierson, 1990). However, a more focused exploration of racism-related university experiences is needed to better understand the impact of the system on ethnic minority students.

Statement of the Problem: Purpose and Significance of the Study

It is a fundamental premise of the proposed research that American society has been affected by a history of racism and oppression of people of color by the dominant or White culture (Bagley & Verma, 1979; Fernando, 1989; Katz & Taylor, 1988; Sidanius, et al. 1991; Simpson & Yinger, 1985). With this understanding, it does not seem surprising that racist ideologies and practices have infiltrated and affected our systems including educational institutions. One major institution which has been affected by racism would be the profession of psychology. Another area is educational systems. Based upon available literature (Allen; 1988; Gunnings, 1982; Nottingham, Rosen, & Parks, 1992; Pliner & Brown, 1985), if and when racism is explored in educational institutions, it is touched upon lightly and specific incidents have not been examined. Instead, incidents have been grouped with more general experiences (i.e., faculty-student interaction, student attrition, social isolation, etc.) and referred to as stressors, but are rarely associated with the concept of racism. Reliable measures of institutional racism are rare. In addition, specific and subtle experiences of racism within graduate study (psychology in

particular) have not been explored. Particular to the field of psychology, racist incidents experienced within psychological graduate study can be reflective of Eurocentric values and forces which permeate present institutions which are training future psychologists. While research on the undergraduate experience is common, research on graduate study is still lacking. Further, there is a significant absence of research exploring indications of racism within the educational system and, in particular, within psychological graduate training programs.

Therefore, this study explored the above areas and investigated the experiences and perceptions of racism in relation to the educational process and in particular to experiences within psychology graduate training programs. Experiences of more aversive and subtle forms of racism, as well as vicarious experiences, were explored. These concepts were assessed by exploring the perceptions of those who are currently enrolled in these institutions, i.e., psychology graduate students. Individual perceptions of organizations can provide important information reflective of institutional ideologies, practices, policies, and structures. Qualitative research exploring the ethnic minority student experience does not exist in the current literature. Potential implications of this research include a first step toward increasing sensitivity within psychology graduate programs in relation to the needs of students of color as well as possible system change. In addition, this study will add to the body of literature on individual, interpersonal, environmental and institutional racism within higher education.

Methods

Sample

The sample size for this project was 17 participants. Interviews were conducted with doctoral students obtaining their Ph.D., Psy.D., or Ed.D., in psychology graduate programs across specializations including clinical, counseling, and educational psychology. Participants ethnically identified themselves as African-American or Black, and included two participants identifying themselves as biracial (African-American/Caucasian). Participants were in either their first, second, third, fourth, fifth, or final year of graduate study. They included males and females. Ages varied from 25 to 55 years old and socio-economic status (while "growing up") varied from lower socio-economic status to upper class status. The sample utilized was nonrepresentative and purposive.

Design

The study utilized a non-experimental, qualitative design. Data was collected at one point in time through individual interviews and a focus group. The researcher, an African-American woman, served as facilitator of the focus group as well as the individual interviews. Constructs and variables that were the focus of this study included perceptions of racism, various areas and dimensions of racism, and coping strategies acquired in relation to experiences of racism. Attention was also paid to the possible heterogeneity and diversity of experiences and perceptions among African-American/Black students. One focus group was facilitated. In addition to the focus group, 15 individual interviews were conducted. Participants in the focus group differed from participants interviewed individually.

Measures

The instruments utilized for the present research consisted of: 1) an interview protocol including a series of structured, open-ended questions developed by the investigator, and 2) a demographic questionnaire. Questions focused on respondents' perceptions of institutional and interpersonal racism within their general educational and psychological training experiences. Both the focus group and individual interviewing format design included a combination of the

general interview guide approach and the standardized open-ended interview (as described by Patton, 1990). The general interview guide contained a list of questions and issues that were explored in the interview.

Questions asked were in relation to: general experiences of racism within education, experiences of racism specific to psychology graduate training, areas of social interaction on campus involving racism, interactions and experiences within the surrounding community related to racism, classroom experiences and administrative policies related to racism, support, mentoring experiences, exposure to faculty, staff, and students of color, and vicarious experiences of racism were explored. Six general content areas were explored including: general experiences of racism within educational systems, specific experiences of racism within psychology graduate training, dimensions of racism within the educational experience, various areas in which racism is experienced within the educational system, reactions to these experiences of racism, and modes of coping utilized in response to experiences of racism within the educational system. Preliminary individual interviews were conducted to pilot areas of inquiry and to refine interview guidelines. Interview guides were reviewed by dissertation committee members.

Procedures

Participants were sampled from an approximate population of 40-50 African-American/Black doctoral psychology students in Los Angeles, San Bernadino, and Ventura Counties. Snowball sampling was implemented. A list of 10 universities and professional schools offering doctoral degrees in psychology between Ventura and Orange County was generated. Contacts were made at several university psychology departments and independent schools of psychology. These contacts included faculty, minority student organizations, students known to the investigator through The Association of Black Psychologists as well as Black psychologists known to the investigator. Other professional organizations contacted included: The American Psychological Association (including the graduate students division and the ethnic minority division) and the National Black Graduate Student Association. In addition, colleagues, acquaintances, and friends of the researcher, as well as past internship supervisors were contacted. Names of African-American/Black students were obtained and students were contacted by letter and/or telephone and asked if they were interested in participating in the research project. In some instances, fliers were given to African-American professors at various universities and placed in African-American student mail boxes. Those who did participate in the study were asked for the names of friends and peers who might be interested in participating. The researcher gave her name and telephone number to several participants so that they might give that information to any interested parties. The first 17 individuals to agree to participate in the project were utilized. None of the participants knew the researcher, and no one contacted refused to participate in the study. Data was collected over a five month period.

The interviewer, then read each question as it appeared on the guide and constructed a conversation around the particular subject area and systematically focused topic area across varied interviews. These guidelines provided a framework within which questions, sequencing of questions, and decision-making regarding the depth to which the questions were pursued (Patton, 1990). The standardized, open-ended interview allowed each person or group member to be asked the same questions. Probing questions, clarifications, or elaborations were also placed in this prepared outline. This interviewing format was systematic and the chance of interviewer judgment occurring during the interview was reduced (Patton, 1990).

Given that the primary data of in-depth, open-ended interviews were quotations given by the subjects, all interviews were tape-recorded. In addition to taping the interviews, notes were taken throughout the interviews to assist the interviewer in formulating new questions as the interview

progresses, note non-verbal behavior, and to later facilitate data analysis. Notes consisted primarily of key phrases, lists of major points made, and key terms. Immediately following the interviews, notes were expanded. Extensive notes and comments were made in order to elaborate upon phrases and dynamics occurring during the interview. Elaborations consisted of summaries of responses to each question, integrating actual quotations obtained during the interviews. Notes were also taken on conversations extending after the interview was formally over and the tape recorder turned off.

Data Analysis

Data consisted of the investigator's notes as well as audiotapes from each individual and group session. After interviews were conducted, each session was transcribed verbatim. The two approaches utilized for analysis included: an ethnographic summary of data (i.e., direct quotations of group/individual discussion) and a systematic coding via content analysis (i.e., categorization of data as the result of identified themes, categories, and sub-categories). The topics of the interview guide served as a practical structure for organizing the analysis. Data analysis contained the following five stages: a) organizing the data by sorting important data; b) examination of the slices of data for logical relationships and contradictions; c) readings of transcripts to confirm or disconfirm emerging relationships and beginning recognition of general properties of the data; d) identification of general themes and sorting of the themes for each of the interviews; and e) review of emergent themes for each of the interviews and determination of how these can be synthesized and categorized (Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, & Harris, 1993).

Results

Review of categories

In analyzing experiences and perceptions of racism, three general categories emerged including: a) general life experiences of racism, b) experiences of racism within education, and c) experiences of racism particular to graduate training in psychology. Experiences of racism within education comprised a majority of responses from participants. It is important to explore the first two categories in order to provide a basis for and understanding of the context in which racism was experienced for African-American students entering psychology graduate training.

Experiences of racism within education

A majority of participant responses fell within this category. Several variables were mentioned throughout the interview, under different questions. In order to add structure to the data presentation, substantive themes were identified. The themes presented have been organized in relation to overt and subtle experiences of racism. Several responses to the first research question (in what ways is racism generally perceived and experienced among African-American psychology graduate students with respect to their education?) fell under subsequent research questions. In order to simplify the results, responses which could be placed under multiple categories were only placed in one. Many experiences of racism were not specific to psychology training. Categories representing overt experiences of racism included: questioning of status and abilities (lowered expectations), exclusion from social events/study groups, problematic relationships with professors and advisors, conflicts arising in relation to socio-political issues/events. Categories representing subtle experiences of racism within education included: family issues, minimization of ideas, contributions, and ethnicity, intraracial conflicts, ethnic identity issues, being "the only one", being silenced, racism within administration (lack of students and faculty of color, grading/intellectual evaluative criteria), vicarious experiences of racism, racism within administrative policies and practices, lack of program and general support,

lack of African-American culture incorporated into educational milieu, and having to speak for one's race.

Overt experiences of racism

Overt experiences of racism were another theme to emerge. For example:

I went to a predominantly White undergrad school and I think for the first time in my life I was subjected to walking down the street and a car would drive by and yell the "N" word. That happened about four times, including during my orientation weekend.

Other students received offensive comments in relation to their skin tone (i.e., how dark they are) and would be told racist jokes or comments in their presence:

But, in passing you'll hear things like, "Well, you know, this is how all these Black people are." And you're sitting there. And it doesn't cease for me. "I can't believe all these type of Black people do this or, it's Blacks who are on welfare" and that kind of stuff. And it just kind of passes over you like, they don't even figure that would register at all. "Oh, no offense". And those things happen a lot. I remember one day going home just wanting to shout and scream. I am re-awakened every now and then and that pisses me off.

Other overt experiences of racism within the social realm of education included being physically beat, being assailed with racial slurs while crossing campus or while attending campus events, and being involved in racially motivated confrontations, demonstrations, rallies, protests, and sit-ins regarding socio-political and institutional issues (i.e., anti-apartheid initiatives and the hiring and tenure of faculty of color). Still other students were told that they "don't belong here" due to their race (in relation to being at a university or pursuing a graduate degree) by professors and/or students. Some participants felt that White students were threatened and even fearful of them and stated that these students would actually run from them for no apparent reason. One participant remembered an instance in which a campus representative told students to beware of dangers in the surrounding community due to its ethnic make up:

I almost have always lived in the exterior of the campus. At one point, I moved onto the campus, to take a job as a residential coordinator. So then I got to hear all the stuff that they tell students about the community. "Don't go past this point...the people of the community, if they see you doing this kind of thing or walking by yourself they're liable to...", you know. And every time that it was a...there was a victim of a crime or whatever, they would write this big thing...they would always make it real clear if they were Black. But I specifically looked for times when they would say, "This is a White person." But it seemed like they would delete that part when it wasn't. There's all kinds of little comments about, you know, "Don't go to this particular market because it's just swarming with those Mexicans."

The posting of derogatory fliers and graffiti was another experience of racism described. One student recalled:

There was this huge thing that happened. Right after the OJ Simpson trial, fliers were distributed across our campus...talking about how they were going to eliminate all the Black people and all this stuff and every derogatory term you could think of and the fliers were posted everywhere. It made the paper. I mean it was huge and...that we are going to get together and burn all these...this and that and it just went on and on, a full page. You just have to be careful. So, you begin to know who you can trust and not trust and so forth and that becomes more subtle and you just kind of play the game.

Within dorm living, racist interactions with roommates (i.e., having skin touched, hair touched, surprised by how you speak) were noted, seeing racist literature posted on dorm bulletin

boards, as well as the eruption of physical confrontations between Black and White students. One woman recalled this experience:

There were sometimes conflicts in the living situations I was in. I lived with a woman who had basically never had any significant amount of interaction with a Black person...well, people of color in general, but especially with a Black person. So I was living in a dorm situation. And wasn't nasty at all, but she was completely ignorant. She actually touched my skin and said something like, "I've never touched Black skin before!" And...oh, and this happens all the time. It's usually women, but they come up to me and just reach out and touch my hair! They don't ask permission or anything. And they seem to be amazed by the texture I guess. They will even say, "Gosh! I didn't know a Black girl could have hair this soft!" And also, sort of along that line, some people always seem to be amazed that I can speak any form of English. I get things like, "You are so articulate for a Black person!" And I think the folk saying this really mean it as a compliment but have no idea how offensive they are. So, that kind of thing happened a lot in college and still does...in school, in public, wherever. Also in the dorms in college there were some physical fights and stuff about...I think once someone has posted some really racist cartoon or something on the bulletin board. And a couple of the Black and White guys went at it. There was name calling, jokes...that kind of stuff.

Within the surrounding campus community, experiences reported included: verbal altercations, physical altercations, offensive depictions of African-Americans (i.e., plays, fraternity presentations in "Black face", afro wigs, etc.), a general feeling of not being welcomed, suspicion arising (from White students) due to congregation with others of your same race, continually stopped and harassed by campus police, as well as violence toward African-Americans at the hand of campus police. In the classroom, stereotypical generalizations about their culture as well as overt/covert racist or discriminatory comments made by professors regarding African-American people (as well as other people of color) were reported. Another instance reported was the presentation of "research" and teaching materials which states that African-Americans are "less intelligent" than White people, and reinforcing this mode of thought. For example:

I had an anthropology professor...it was really unfortunate...it was my first semester there and I was actually kind of overwhelmed. But he basically said that...it was like a lesser bell curve kind of thing, he basically said that African-Americans are of lesser intelligence and there's nothing you could do about it, and it's proven by x, y, and z. I don't think I said anything the whole class. This was in a lecture hall. This was not a small class. There were lots of people in this class. But it took a while before people would speak up a question the premise of some of his works. And it was really frustrating cause virtually no undergraduate was going to come up with any argument that he hadn't heard and wasn't prepared for. So it was frustrating in that sense and it was frustrating for me personally cause I wasn't ready for that. But if I'd taken that class...probably not even the second year but my third or forth year, which you can't because it's one of the classes you have to take in your first two years, I think I would have reacted a lot differently and been a lot more angry. But I was actually more overwhelmed by my having moved across the country and started school and stuff like that. But I do remember that class. You never knew...you never knew what was gonna spew.

Another participant relayed an experience in which an assumption was made by a professor regarding the way in which Black people speak. He stated the following:

In graduate school...it sticks with me like it was yesterday cause I tell the story all the

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time. But, I had a professor that...I was taking teaching language arts in the elementary school and we were on the part of dialect, and he said, "Well, if [participant states own name] called me on the phone, I wouldn't know he is Black because he doesn't talk Black." And I said, "What is 'talk Black'?" I said, "Because I am Black and I talk and so I am talking Black as far as I'm concerned". He says, "Well, most Black people talk...", and he tried to do a dialogue. And I said, "Well, most people that I speak to don't talk like that." And he said, "Well, that's because you are an unusual case because you're family educated and most Black families aren't educated." I said, "Every Black family that I know is educated because those are the people that I was raised around". Anyway, it goes on and on and on and on and on. And I didn't agree with what he said, and he didn't agree with what I said, and finally I got really angry and got up and left.

Questioning of Status and Abilities: Lowered Expectations of African-American Students

The questioning of one's status as a student, or of one's abilities was another category which arose frequently throughout the interviewing process. This questioning was done by others (i.e., students and professors), but it was also done by the student him/herself. The questioning of a student's status from administrative personnel was frequently reported. For example:

Walking around the campus community or the surrounding community...and this tended to be when there were males in the group, but also when there were just females in the group, being asked to show school ID when no one else around was being asked to show their ID. Typically they tended to be those sort of interactions where some authority would intervene and question whether or not we were acting appropriately or being where we needed to be.

In college or in graduate school I find that it's more subtle. I tried to enter campus and this guy looked at me I go, " I need to get through the gate." [He said] "Well...you know students go here." "Yes, I know that! That's why I have [names institution] on my car!" Or, I'm walking across campus and I'm not dressed a certain way. This guy jumped five feet away from me and kinda looked at me weird. We were all kind of walking down...and he says, "Oh I'm sorry! I didn't see your book bag"...it said [names institution] on it. "I thought you were going to pick my pocket."

A common theme relayed by participants was the perception that, as an African-American person, they must be "supernatural" to be in education due to a stereotypic belief that Blacks are generally less intelligent as compared to other races. Many students stated that chronic instances involving racism included the lowered expectation of African-American students:

The lower expectations is one chronic stress. Even if it's not articulated initially. You find yourself turning in some piece of work, and you thought it was pretty decent I suppose. You turned it in and then there's just this, you know, "Oh my goodness! This is fabulous! This is wonderful!" And it's not even really that serious a piece of work! But somehow there was the expectation that you were going to turn in a bunch of trash I suppose. So the fact that you've turned in something even barely coherent is amazing or wonderful. I think that's the thing that I keep encountering...the expectation that you aren't going to accomplish as much or that you aren't going to get as much done.

Other occurrences in relation to interactions with professors or teachers was the suspicion that students were not able to meet the standards of the class (i.e., going to need remedial help or

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extra assistance). There was the continuous belief that it was abnormal for African-American students to be in higher education. A respondent put it this way:

Well the main thing I've noticed is just "How do you do this?" Like...it's just so abnormal for a Black person to achieve anything. Like...it can't be your own effort, or your abilities. It has to be some outside thing helping you. It's never said like that but it's like...I have done well in school, but...still they're like, "How did you do so well?" like it's an abnormality. I'm like, "I study like you do!" And people just don't seem to get that. It's not easy I mean. I hear this all the time, in the doctoral programs and things like that. They're like, "Oh, well, you know...it's really hard for us to get in", meaning some White people, "because affirmative action, they need more minorities" and things like that and I'm like, but I worked hard! I think I worked hard none the less to get where I am. So that's one of the chronic things I have noticed, from college all the way up until now. And that bothers me.

Other participants stated that the assumption was often made that their work was not their own, based on the belief that their abilities were inferior to that of White students, and that someone must be helping them:

Something I used to be sensitive to, but now I've gotten used to, is the perception that my own work is not my own. Kind of having to verify that I did, in fact, do the work that was turned in. Expectations, in one way or another, didn't match what was submitted. And that usually happens on a first round basis for just about every paper or whatever that gets turned in. It's almost like a testing that you have to go through within the class to show that you do have the same intellect that matches the level of work that has been submitted to show that there was no assistance or just out-and-out someone else doing it. And that's something that I've perceived for quite some time.

A few individuals were able to recall being told that they would not be able to pass a college level class (due to its level of difficulty), won't graduate, or told that they didn't belong at a university or in graduate school:

I was in undergraduate school. I wanted to go to graduate school. I had one teacher directly tell me, "You'll never make it in graduate school." I was a straight 4.0. He was talking about how, just being Black, I wouldn't fit in with the academic culture. There is this constant message that we can't succeed.

I remember very vividly a college professor telling me that I wasn't going to be able to pass a class, that I wasn't capable, I didn't have the capabilities. I've often been told, "Oh, that's too hard, that's too difficult"..."You shouldn't take too many classes at one time."

Other participants described experiences in which when they would tell people of being in school, and the assumption was made that they were talking about attending high school or college verses graduate school. Experiences of automatically being placed in remedial courses (versus college prep courses), without any apparent rationale, were also described. For example:

I can remember in junior high school. I remember that there was this thing that went on whereby students were starting to be separated into college prep kind of courses and the "slower" courses or whatever. I can't remember the context exactly, but I do remember automatically being put into the remedial course without any form of testing or assessment. I also then remember my mom going down to the school. She asked to see the evidence of how they based their decision. They, of course, had none. So my mom demanded that I be tested. I was tested and then placed into the gifted or accelerated classes. But the fact that my mom had to go to all that trouble just so I could take a test I should have been given anyway. They assumed because I was

Black that I should be placed in a certain track. I remember that I was one of a few minorities there at the time. And now I think, what if my mom didn't know any better and thought that this is just how the system worked? What if she wasn't assertive? I think that's how a lot of children of color are lost through the cracks. That, then, leads to a lack of particular opportunities, the inability to be competitive to go to particular colleges, etc. etc. To me, that is institutional racism. And that has followed me, actually, throughout my education. This assumption that I am less than or less capable than another student purely based on my physical appearance.

The assumption or belief that a participant had faulty or inferior educational preparation was also mentioned.

Within academia, a chronic condition of racism reported by several of the participants is the stigmatization of "special status" as beneficiaries of affirmative action or "quotas" despite individual ability or accomplishments. One person noted:

I've heard a lot of students...and actually this was a bit of my experience. Once again, it was something more that I sensed. But, as far as admissions, and I think it also ties into the whole idea of expectations, in my classes I would get the feeling, either by professors or by students just in the way they talked to me or rather didn't talk to me or responded or didn't respond to me, that there was some idea that I was just here because of some quota or whatever the case may be. And that's the only reason I got in here. "Pretty soon she's going to be gone anyway, so why do we even bother? She probably doesn't have too much to say, probably has no clue what's going on." Whatever the case, that was the sense that I was getting. I really felt the exclusion. And from other students I've heard that just in talking to other people that, actually, their experiences were a bit more blatant where people were called into question their being here. "You don't even...you got in here anyway because of whatever, whatever and you aren't qualified. You can't handle this material."...whatever the case may be.

Another student was able to recall his professor's surprise when asking for a recommendation for graduate school.

An additional theme which reemerged throughout most of the interviews was that of participant's feeling the constant pressure to have to prove themselves, not being given the benefit of the doubt within situations, and having to work harder than White students simply to be seen as equal to them. They felt as if they were having to do twice as much to prove one's ability, and having to be "the best of the best" without any room for error and are unable to make any mistakes. One person stated:

One thing that I keep running into is this feeling that I am always under a microscope. It's like, I am being watched over more than other White students. I think it kind of goes back to what I was saying about expectations being lower for some students. I feel that I have to do so much more in terms of quality of work...just to be seen as equal to many White students. And also, I sometimes feel that if I don't perform well, it might be bad for other Black students wanting to come into the program. Like, if I don't perform really well, others may not make it in because they might assume that they won't be able to handle the program or graduate or whatever.

Another individual summed this concept up as follows:

Having to prove myself when I walk into a situation. Not being given the benefit of the doubt or not being able to say, "Oh. I've got a great idea here." But instead having to go through he whole process of...ok, doing extra, extra, extra, extra. And I always felt that. And I kind of probably deal with the philosophy, too, that if you are other than White, you have to work extra hard...be the best of the best in order to make it in the world.

Another experience expressed by several respondents, was the surprise they received regarding their dialect and the fact that they could speak "English". Multiple respondents reported the feeling of being **"stared through".** One person stated:

A lot of times...one time in particular, I was supposed to meet a lawyer. And we spoke over the phone. I walk into the room, I'm the only person there at the time I was supposed to be there. And she just totally stared right at me. I looked at her and said, "Hi, I'm [participant states own name]". She looks at me and she's like, "Oh, hi."

However, the questioning of African-American student abilities did not only come from faculty members and fellow students. Some participants reported that after having their intellect and status questioned for so long, they began to question themselves. The perception of one's own competence and abilities appeared to be a stressor for many of the respondents. In particular, participants were concerned in relation to their ability to complete the program (questioning their own intelligence), other students entering the graduate program with more advanced degrees, the concern that their undergraduate preparation was inadequate, their capability to do graduate work, and race-related competence (i.e., were they accepted to the program due to affirmative action or their intellect/abilities). One student stated:

I have the constant worry about whether or not I have the stuff, in a sense, to accomplish whatever goal I'm going for. The stressor that I can think of is having that question which comes back again and now that I'm in my fifth year of graduate school. So I decided, ok, I want to do psychology. And then I wondered whether I could get into one of the top competitive programs or if I had the stuff to, you know... So I arrived at [graduate institution named] and, you know, initially had the race related question...definitely wondered....ok, so...did I do so well because I'm from a demographic group that they really, really need? The question never really completely goes away. I feel like one of the stressors has been trying to figure out this constant question about how good am I and how much of it is race, affirmative action or just a mistake. And I think people who have race or gender issues always have the question of...did somebody make an error in admitting me to this thing? i've heard that from other people. Then will I have what it takes to complete the program? Because you hear things about people who are being quotaed and things. And the sense that, well, we're committed to getting you here and we're accepting a certain number of people here, but we don't have a commitment to necessarily see that you finish or we may not think through whether or not you'll be able to make it.

Exclusion from Social Events/Study Groups

Other experiences of racism within educational experiences included being excluded from social interactions due to one's race (i.e., parties and study groups). One person spoke of this dynamic in this way:

I know when I was in undergraduate school...and you know how on spring break everybody goes to Johnny's house or Susie's house or whatever or they're having a party or whatever and you kind of get this feeling like what's up here? Like everybody's invited and the same group always goes. And it's like, for you to go it's really hesitant and all that stuff. And finally I'd ask a friend of mine. I said, "What's up with this? I thought we were all going to your house for...whatever." "Well, my parents really don't like Black people." And I said, "Ok." And they said. " It's not me, it's not me, it's not me." I said, "It's your parents and that's fine and you have to respect them and...that's the way it is." I said, "That's life." I said, "But, I hope...I hope you let them understand and you change their mind. So...you do what you need

to do."

Other students noticed African-Americans not attending school-wide activities because of not feeling comfortable or welcome:

Blacks tended not to attend the school-wide activities. There were no cultural events for the Black students or other ethnic groups, and we didn't feel comfortable attending the events. There was a feeling you'd get. Like you weren't welcome. We all felt it. And then when I looked at my [graduate institution named] newspaper I don't see evidence of any of those type of events in there even now. We were that largely out numbered.

Several participants remembered experiences of being excluded from study groups with White students, and students not wanting to pair up with them in relation to class assignments, resulting in the inability to get help or support from those students:

The only thing that I can think of off the top of my head would be maybe some of those subtle things with fellow White students such as...some students pairing up with each other and then them feeling uncomfortable about giving their phone number to study with, or just not being able to hook up with a fellow student saying, "Hey...what did you do last week? Is it possible for me to hook up with you and maybe...let me know how it went". I just found it easier for Anglos to do that with each other. And I really felt that I of had a double difficulty in that not only was I African-American but that I was an African-American male. And I think that that might have been more threatening to them that just being African-American, but also being a Black male I may be more threatening to the Anglo students. And so it was kind of sad...some of the subtle ways in which not including you, not being receptive to working together and pairing off.

Twenty-nine percent (29%) of participants mentioned being excluded from study groups, 24% reported being not invited or disinvited to social events, 18% reported a lack of partnering in labs, and 14% of respondents reported that White students refused to share telephone numbers, notes, information, etc. With them.

Problematic Relationships with Professors/Teachers and Academic Advisors

In general, most participants recounted experiences of racism in relation to interactions they had had with professors, teachers, and/or advisors. Conflicts arising in relation to socio-political issues were also mentioned. In particular, the lack of a relationship and a sense of connection with a professor was a common theme throughout the interviewing process. Statements to this effect include:

I would say one of the large stressors that I have now is the relationship I have with my advisor. It's just not very supportive at all. I can't put my finger on it, but he is very aloof, non-supportive, difficult to work with.

I think overall, just a lack of connecting with professors. Just not being able to go to them with questions or concerns or, definitely not with anything personal, but even questions about graduate school in general. Sometimes I just want to ask if what I'm going through in terms of stress and stuff. I just want to know if that's normal! But I don't really trust many of my professors because I am afraid to look like I can't handle it or something. I feel sometimes that I have to act a certain way and put up a front. And not only in front of the professors, but the students too. It's like, I have to be strong and on top of things all the time to show I can make it. But that's hard because I am scared a lot of the time too. I've never gotten a doctorate before and don't know my way. I think it would help a lot if there were more professors that I

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thought I could relate to...be they Black or of color or whatever. But the feeling I get know is that they are very distant and aloof.

Others reported faculty members allowing them to be attacked in class due to differing opinions or following racist comments made by a White student. One participant expressed:

I've always been vocal about my feelings about racial issues. And I can remember being in class and just feeling attacked by the class, just because my opinion was different on things. And that wasn't so bad. The bad part about it is that the faculty was not sensitive to that. So I didn't even feel supported. Like, if somebody was saying something that was racist, I couldn't even depend on the instructor to support me in addressing issues.

The feeling of being scapegoated was also a consistent theme throughout the interviewing process. One student recalled:

I think I was maybe in junior high and actually this was the first time I was in a predominantly White school. And we had it was a substitute teacher in one of our courses and there were some people talking in class. The teacher had her back turned or whatever the case may be, but then when she turned around to identify who these people were that had been talking, she looked right over towards the small cluster of Black students. We hadn't been the ones who were talking. We were on the other side of the room even, and the noise...where it was coming from...was clearly close to where she was. I mean, it was quite evident to everyone involved that they weren't the ones who were talking. But there was pressure being the substitute teacher to somehow exert some sort of discipline on someone so...the scapegoats happened to be the Black students. And we clearly, as well as other students in the class, knew that we hadn't been the ones. But the guilty parties didn't stand up and say anything either but...that was very clearly to me a race-related incident.

A lack of eye contact, and the general feeling of being wanted in class were instances reported which were attributed to race. One participant stated:

I don't know how to really say this cause I guess...it's sort of like, the feeling like you walk into a classroom and your teacher won't make eye contact with you. You know right then and there, this is not the class you need to take. But you've got to take this class cause you've got to go on and take the next class. So that feeling that your teacher doesn't want you in that class. They don't know anything about you, but it's something there already. And I've had that experience a lot....a lot.

Racism was also experienced within the realm of advisement including academic advising (being dissuaded to going to particular colleges or universities -directed toward community colleges verses universities), a lack of advisement, and problematic relationships with advisors (i.e., non-supportive, aloof, difficult to work with), and being advised to pursue "lower status" jobs such as:

In high school I remember we had to go to the guidance people or whoever to try and help decide what we wanted to be when we grew up! And at the time I recall telling this woman that I wanted to be a doctor. And it was like she didn't even hear me or thought I was joking or something. Because she immediately started talking about secretarial jobs. I think now that, that was based on race.

Conflict Arising in Relation to Sociopolitical Issues/Events

Another category which continually arose throughout the interviewing process were conflicts in relation to discussions involving particular, recent socio-political events (i.e., the OJ Simpson trial, anti-affirmative action proposals, and the LA uprising). For example:

After the OJ Simpson verdict came out, I had a testy experience with a couple of

classmates. And it was right at the beginning of our first year so, we didn't really know each other very well. And it was really more around...if you recall what Oprah Winfrey said on her show. She said, "Most of my Black friends think many Whites are like Mark Fuhrman." She said that. She did not say she felt that way, she said that's what she has heard from her Black friends. And the people that I was talking to, really took that up as an issue. I kind of got into it. They weren't recognizing their inability to really speak to it from a realistic point of view. I think I got upset because it made me realize how much people that don't live with it don't even deal with it. So I just, sort of, ended up walking away from the conversation and that was kind of tense.

I've seen a lot of things which parallel things that are happening in the news and when certain things happen in the news, or certain historical events come up then the discussions definitely start coming up. For instance when, of course, the O.J. Simpson trial came out, it was obvious to see the divisions created. And I think it surprised a lot of White people to really realize how African-Americans were actually thinking. And so I saw a lot of polarization and conflicts around that time because there was a lot of tension around that time. Also around the time of the L.A. riots...or as we call it the...L.A. resurrection. When that happened there was a lot of polarization and difference in relation to really what was going on. A lot of African-Americans were seeing this as an inevitable thing that was going to happen. Where as a lot of Anglo's would not understand why are these people looting, why are these people burning? And just didn't understand the level of anger and frustration that was going on in these communities. So on my campus here, in my work here and with other places, I would notice just a lot of tension. And when discussions were brought out, it was so interesting to see how far apart these worlds are.

Family Issues

Several categories surrounding family issues as well as the minimization of one's ideas, contributions, and ethnicity were mentioned. One category to develop was that of being the first in one's family to attend college or graduate school. This was reported to be a major stressor for several participants, and was
attributed to institutional racism and the lack of opportunity for African-American to receive educational opportunities. In particular, a lack of guidance and difficulty in explaining the educational process to family members was mentioned. Two people asserted:

Part of it is also not having a contact support in my family. My mother completed an Associate's degree and she's now working as a secretary. She went back to school after we were in grade school. And my dad also has the equivalent of an Associate's degree. Although he works as an engineer, he did that in a time when you could work your way up. He did it a time where he came in as a draftsman and had some skills with drawing or whatever and worked his way through, but didn't have the fancy degree. So the whole educational system and having a sense of what it takes to get where your going, I'm kind of doing it for the first time in my family.

My family has been very supportive, but there are things they don't really understand and it gets hard to explain.

Some felt as if they missed a lot because of this dynamic. One woman put it in this way:

Another thing that feels difficult is when you're the first person in your family to go through this type of stuff...feeling like you miss so much. Years after my undergrad

experience, I think of all the things I could have done differently. My parents just didn't know. They did the best they could. They tried to be supportive and give as much guidance as possible. I remember being in an experience with a student who's a good friend of mine who's Anglo who said his own uncle or father was a psychologist. And they were talking about what that's like. And they said, "What do your parents do?" And I wanted to say nothing remotely related to what I'm doing. My mom's a secretary and my dad's in business. So you don't have anyone you can call up and say, "Is this right...should I be doing this...or doing that?" And for some people, a lot of mistakes happen that way. I never thought I could do graduate work in psychology. There's always that sense that you're kind of behind the eight ball.

Minimization of Ideas, Contributions, Ethnicity

Several participants recalled instances in which they felt that their race or ethnicity was minimized by either White students or faculty members. One student recounted an instance in which she felt a minimization of her experiences as a Black woman by a White professor by stating:

I had a White professor say, "Yeah. I know exactly what you've been through. I know how you feel. When I walk down the street and people whistle at me..." She's trying to use her experience as a woman and compare it to mine being Black...or being a Black woman. And it's like, "Look lady, that's not what I'm talking about". It's almost like minimizing my experiences in all of these different areas.

Other respondents relayed having their cultural or ethnic identity minimized by asserting:

Definitely people being insensitive. Saying things that they don't realize are negative things. I know a common one for me is, "Oh, I don't even think of you as being Black!" or "I don't even look at your color". As if they are giving me a compliment.

Another dynamic was the experience of continually being mistaken for another Black person. A woman recalled this experience:

This is something that gets on my nerves. I am always being mistaken for another Black women. I mean, we could look completely different, but I'll be called her name. So I'll correct the person and the same person will make the mistake again and again. They don't seem to be even trying to make an effort to remember who I am!

An additional area in which participants continuously stated that their ideas and contributions were minimized was in relation to the introduction or discussion of multicultural issues. Other students relayed experiences in which no attempt to be culturally sensitive was made in a class. When questions were asked by African-American students, they were ignored. One student stated that when discussing a multicultural issue, she was told that she was "too excited" and was questioned as to the importance of her inquiry. Many participants commented on being ignored and invalidated on a consistent basis, while White students were consistently praised. One person recounted this experience:

A lot of the experiences tended to be more where if I had a comment or something to say or other Black students or students of color had something to say there just wasn't follow-up on it. It wasn't considered or seemed as though it wasn't considered an important thing. Just kind of, "Ok...and Johnny..." and move on to someone else. And then a considerable amount of time is spent exploring what this person had just said. Also some instances where that student will say exactly what that person said, and all of a sudden, coming out of this person's mouth, it's a jewel, it's a gem.

Another experience mentioned that when questioning a professor's inappropriate demeanor, being told to be silent if you want to graduate, or that it is your imagination . One individual said:

It's the dismissing of you when you ask a question. The blatant disregard for your

intelligence. I had an experience in which I was in class, I was the only African-American female. And I recall in that class whenever I raised my hand to ask a question, it was always played off by the professor. But if I were a White female, particularly blond, would ask a question, He just went overboard to give...just elaborate answers and responses. I thought it was me at the beginning until I met with a couple of the other minority students after class. I presented that issue to another professor, and I said I didn't know who to talk to about it. I said I have a question about the behavior of a professor. I was told by another professor to leave it alone, that perhaps I didn't understand, and that he had the information that I needed. And if I wanted to finish this degree program, that I had to leave it alone. And I was appalled. I was appalled that a professor could tell me that perhaps it was just my imagination. It still hurts when I think about it. That someone played me off with that racist attitude.

Still others felt as if they were being minimized and/or placated by professors in relation to their perceived incompetence.

Intraracial Conflicts

Intraracial conflict was described within several different categories including physical characteristics, relationship issues, social issues, academia, and ethnic identity formation. Conflicts surrounding physical characteristics were reported in relation to skin tone and hair texture. One student stated:

It's weird because there being so few African-Americans you would think we would try and work together. People would not like each other due to your hair is longer than mine, your lighter skinned...that kind of thing.

Interracial dating and marriages were also at the center of intraracial conflict experienced within education. Within interpersonal relationships, issues were said to exist due to the lack of available same race dating partners. Negative statements made by women about men, and by men about women. One man recites:

In the areas of personal relationships, especially things like male-female relationships, I find that a lot of African-Americans are still under a lot of these very divisive thoughts. And so you will hear a lot of Black men say very negative things about Black women..."I can't trust Black women...Black women are always going to dog you...Black women are always gonna give you a hard time that's why I'm gonna go out with a White woman...Black women aren't going to support you...Black women are always gonna be in your face." And I mean on the other side too a lot of the statements from some of the Black women we hear a lot of negativity with, "Black men aren't any good...Black men are dogs...Black men aren't going to stand by you...Black men aren't going to do this". And a lot of these statements, I've seen it take it's toll. And it really hurt the relationships between African-Americans. So there's the lack of trust. The inability to work together. And so a lot of that chips away at African-Americans coming together.

Socially related conflicts comprised another arena in which intraracial conflict was experienced. The issue of class difference (socio-economic status) was expressed by one participant in this way:

One thing that is interesting now is the money issue. Class. In undergrad either I didn't notice it or people didn't show it, or we were all broke! But now, there's a person who comes from some money and is here because it's a social climb to be a "doctor"- whatever that means. So this person really sticks out. And actually, I think that she has alienated herself quite a bit. She's all about, "I have this, I bought this,

my mom has this kind of car...", whatever. But that has caused some disunity or whatever in our little group of Black people. But it's funny. We'll support and cover each other in class or wherever. It's like in front of others, we are, or want to appear strong and united. But when it comes to getting together outside of school, this person is not included.

Other problems were described due to group cliques (either various groups of Blacks not associating with other groups of Blacks, or Black students only associating with White students). Several individuals recounted being ignored and excluded by students of their same race. For example:

I remember students complain that other students, other Black folks, wouldn't speak to them as they walk across the campus. And even though that's kind of a silly thing, it means a lot to a person who's, maybe, new to that campus and walking there for the first time and needs to feel that connection. So, as I've been there so many years, I know who to speak to. And it's a good feeling when you walking through a sea of White folks and you see a Black person, and you at least acknowledge each other. It feels really good. I search for that. I need that.

Additional variables included the distribution of power in relation to campus politics (i.e., where efforts and energy should be concentrated to produce change), and being "talked to" by African-American faculty due to beliefs regarding race relations. The hypocrisy and contradictions perceived by students (i.e., students being ostracized for not being "Black enough", yet those making those accusations won't take internships in the Black community, don't support Black research, etc.) was mentioned. The issue of multiple identity formation (i.e., Black students not wanting Black gay/lesbian students to "come out") was seen as dividing unity between Black students. Other issues identified included African-American students who "do not identify" with being Black (perceived lack of ethnic identity; assimilation), and are perceived as betraying their race. Conflict was also said to arise due to individuals being excluded and ostracized because of their biracial heritage. Differences in ideals and beliefs regarding race relations also provided a basis for intraracial conflict. Pressures in relation to "how to act", what to believe, what activities to participate in, etc. were expressed by some respondents: One person stated:

When I was in college, the older students were quite friendly and helpful and a really great support to us. But then when I was a sophomore or junior, it was like, if you were Black and didn't show up to every Black meeting or protest or event, then some of the students stopped acknowledging you and talking to you. So I had a roommate for 2 years who was also Black. And we just ended up in the last 2 years keeping to ourselves and focusing on graduating. And then it got into the whole thing of what it meant to be Black, we were selling out because we didn't go to everything. And suddenly we didn't look Black enough, talk Black enough...that kind of thing. It was as if we were not being...loyal to our race or something.

Academically, conflict between African-American students was attributed to academic competition (i.e., internalized racism vs. cooperative learning, support) and the inability to work together. One participant expanded upon this point by stating:

Because we are African people, but we're African people transplanted in a Western world, there are a lot of us that believe in communal type of work...communal type of research...African principles...helping each other. But I think the drives are still there around us to still be competitive. So I have noticed for a lot of African-Americans in the circle, they tend to integrate some of that racist thought about their own people...thinking that other African-American students might need more help or try and not do as much work. I have noticed that some African-Americans shy away from

study groups with other African-Americans students. And for some of those reasons.

As a result of the aforementioned conflicts, a lack of trust and unity was reported to develop.

Ethnic Identity Issues

For some participants, ethnic identity development was a recurrent theme. Some mentioned being caught between White academia and "mainstream African-American life". One individual said it this way:

The chronic problem is the dilemma of...there really at least two distinct worlds and they are different cultures. And to be comfortable in one means to sort of give up your citizenship in another. The fact of the matter is, you really can't be a citizen...I can't, especially in this stage of my life, be a citizen in either completely. And that's a chronic tension. That there will always be a wall keeping me from being completely at home in either place...the world of the White academic or the world of, sort of, mainstream Black life. If I were to feel more comfortable among in sort of a Black community or among a large group of African-Americans, I think it would be at the cost of being able to be as optimistic and positive as I am in the setting that I'm in. So I don't know how you win. But at this stage of my life right now, it's very adaptive for me to spend a lot of time focused on my work and in the world of work and those type of things. As long as I do that I'm fine. But I do run into problems when I want to have more in my life having to do with more social related things. So that's a chronic stress, and I think it's serious one.

Many interviewees questioned their own ethnic identity development (i.e., "am I Black enough?") and oftentimes felt a sense of not belonging with other Black people:

I will probably always walk around questioning myself as an African-American person. The way I question myself is, am I Black-Black? Because just living in a racist environment, I have not been accepted because I didn't sound a certain way or because of the choices I make.

Another issue category which continually arose was the issue of what "type" of African-American person you are. Some respondents recalled continually being assessed as to if they were the "different" or "good" type of Black person (as seen by White students and faculty). The issue of what "type" of Black person a student was, led to some students questioning themselves.

Being the "Only One"

Many participants stated that a major stressor for them within their educational experiences was being "the only one" (i.e., the only African-American individual in their department, program, or class).

Being alone [is a major stressor]. A person of color who is academically trying to get somewhere...there's not a lot of support there. And then the farther you go, whether it is your masters or Ph.D., the less of you there are. It becomes less and less and then you are the only one. And it's like one of those things where you are so sick of being the only one. But, there's nothing you can do about it in a sense. The big honor societies in the schools are also kind of built that way. There's not a lot of people there of color. And, for me that was completely frustrating when I was an undergrad. We do need numbers. So, that's frustrating and I see it probably continuing in the professional world. I have a lot of friends who are on internship and they are the only ones. And, I'm the only Black female in my program and I have been for the past eight years. So, there's nobody behind me and I can't remember...I think my faculty mentor told me maybe four years before me there might have been someone.

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My father got his Ph.D. from [graduate institution named] in social work 20 years ago. And he was on the committee to get more minorities in. And he just told me two weeks ago, he said, "You know, I was thinking about that and the whole thing I was thinking about was, here's my daughter I never want her to have to go through what I went through...to be alone." And it's 20 years later and I'm alone.

Sixteen (96%) of participants stated that they are the only African-American or person of color within their class, department, and/or program.

Being Silenced

Most of the students interviewed echoed a similar theme of the need and desire to "be heard" and of being ignored. One participant stated:

I guess for me in graduate and undergraduate school, it was the constant need or desire to be heard and understood. And I think for a lot of professors and even some Anglo students, I kept feeling like they were under the impression that I was looking for something special as far as help or assistance, when it was not that. What I was looking for was to be heard. I was coming from a different frame of reference which is different from a lot of Anglo people and it just wasn't being incorporated into their sphere of knowledge...it just was not jiving. And the most frustrating part for me was saying whatever my opinion was, and it just not connecting with other people.

A general sense of not "fitting in" as well as not being understood were additional variables mentioned by many of the participants. For example:

I was in class once recently. And I was talking to the class about just sort of sitting in a session with somebody, and I just knew what was going on...using my spirit. I never felt more alone in my life, because nobody knew what I was talking about. Not even the professor. And that had been the only class in which there was not another person of color.

There's just this sense of never fully fitting in or feeling like you don't belong or that you're not welcome. It's hard to meet people some of the time, or continually being taught in a class with people who have little to no sense of your experience. I can understand where they are coming from because I have to! But they don't understand where I'm coming from. And that gets old.

Forty-seven percent (47%) of participants reported the need to be heard or understood, twenty-nine percent (29%)stated that they were unable to articulate their ideas and concerns, and eighteen percent (18%) reported feeling silenced in class.

Vicarious Experiences of Racism

Accounts of vicarious racism (the witnessing others of your race in racist situations) were reported within the academic environment including within the classroom as well as within the surrounding social environment. Within the classroom, participants relayed experiences of observing other African-American students being misunderstood and disenfranchised by White students and/or professors as well as not being "heard", invalidated, ignored, and told that their viewpoints are "wrong". Others
have seen students afraid to speak in class and sitting at the back of the room nervous and intimidated. One person stated:

I've seen some students give up. Or they're afraid to ask questions in class. They try and disappear. In class they sit in the back. They won't ask questions...they're nervous. They will not ask until they are out of ear shot, "Can I get your phone

number? Can I call you? Did you get the notes?"...that kind of thing. I suspect that's because some people are more intimidated. They want to finish, but they need the support of someone saying, "You can do it".

Other experiences of vicarious racism included the perception that a fellow student received a lower grade than s/he deserved due to their race, general unfair treatment, and students being singled out by professors emphasizing their cultural difference and being shamed. Poor advisement was another situation in which respondents felt that their colleagues were treated unfairly due to their race:

I think there's been many times when students have got poor advice about how to take care of a particular issue. Or somebody passed the buck. And it's beautiful for me when I get an opportunity to, "Oh, this is what you do. This is how you do it." And sometimes you need a name. "You tell them that [participant states own name] said for you to come to them." Because that's what that kind of system is kind of...designed around. If you don't know who or what to do, you're gonna to lose out. Fair treatment.

Additional themes to emerge in relation to the vicarious experience of racism within education included: seeing other students unable to develop a professional identity, and seeing friends treated badly by supervisors within internships.

Others had read about or heard of students being physically attacked, being the recipient of racial slurs, as well as students being stopped, questioned, and harassed while walking in the surrounding community (particularly Black men). For example:

In the school paper, there have been some editorials about conflict on campus about various things that have happened. About African-American students being stopped in the parking garage simply walking to their cars because it's assumed that they're gonna break in or steal a car.

Oh, several, all kinds of them [seeing others in racist situations]. I could write novels and epics and what not. There have been actual racial slurs, accusations, even physical confrontations, physical attacks, by report, unprovoked. And just by what I know of those people who were the ones who were attacked, I believe they were unprovoked. A lot of those I mainly heard about during undergrad. Usually on the campus wasn't so bad, but in the area, in the [campus community named] area, it was not very great. Especially not if you were traveling in more than a duo. I mean, if there were three of you, you may as well get ready...keep your ID out because you were probably going to get questioned at the very best...harassed or even attacked. So, I've heard of so many experiences. And I think for the males, I think it tends to be a lot more overt, blatant forms then they tend to be with females. That's been my experience. But...yeah...I've certainly heard of far too many than I wish to be aware of.

Athletes were reported to have racial conflicts with White teammates. Also, African-American men were observed to be feared by White women:

I've seen, especially with Black men, in undergrad I saw a lot of...people seemed to be more suspicious of them or afraid of them. I saw White women actually hurry their pace and try and avoid them when they were walking, things like that.

The vicarious experience of racism and negative treatment of African-American professors was another variable mentioned. Many students mentioned their empathy for faculty of color and what they must go through as professors. The dynamic of professors of color being challenged excessively from White students when discussing issues of diversity and having to substantiate their lectures, defend their knowledge base, etc. was discussed. Students mentioned seeing these

professors challenged by White students regarding their intellect, ability, etc., as well as students "boycotting" multicultural courses:

I have had one very profound instance. As a graduate student, I was in a pro-seminar in counseling offered by Doctor [professor named]. She was new to the university...she was an adjunct in our program. And, again, I was the only African-American student in the class. And...[professor's first name mentioned], not I, the lowly graduate student, but [professor's first name mentioned] was challenged. She was challenged by some of those White students, particularly the men challenged as though you don't know what you're talking about. Just clearly that was racist in its motivation. Challenging her degree, challenging her scholarship, her ability. She told our director...."Never again will I teach in your department...don't you ever ask me to do so". I was so shocked...I had never experienced anything like that before. Certainly none of my White professors had ever been challenged like that in terms of their knowledge or their knowledge base.

Instances of lowered expectations of professors also occurred:

Especially from faculty of color that I've heard. Students coming by to look for a doctor so-and-so and you're staring right at them and not understanding that, that could possibly be a doctor.

Two additional variables which emerged within this category was the denial of jobs, as well as various privileges given to White students. Within the social environment, participants reported observing fellow students being excluded by other Black students, as well as observing the stress caused to other students an absence of support and a place for students to talk and vent. One respondent recalled:

I certainly have observed this and this is through self report more than anything else. Students behind me in the program, for instance, may not have a fellow cohort member...who may be the only one, have come to me on an individual basis and said, "Help me. How did you deal with this same stuff?" Being excluded by their fellow students who they are locked-step with all the way and continually being excluded. I think that says something when our students feel that they have ears that won't listen. It's been hard for some of them.

White students were seen disrespecting university staff of color (i.e., cafeteria workers, janitors-those in "lower" positions):

And then with staff people like, the people who work in the cafeteria, be they Latino or Black, it seemed as if the White students treated them with little respect. It's as if they expect them to be in those positions and are there to serve them.

Interestingly, several respondents reported have observed instances motivated by racism involving Latino men and women, both socially and within the classroom including:

I remember an incident in class once when a Latina student confronted her professor about a situation. And from no where the professor said something like, " It's no wonder that you are having so much trouble in my class. It's because you Latinos are so non-intelligent and ignorant and lazy. I don't even know why they let you in this program" etc. etc. She was extremely upset as you might imagine. The professor later tried to cover it all up by saying that he was trying to explain to her that he meant that the Latino community is in need of assistance in learning English, becoming more "intelligent" etc. etc. I thought this was clearly racist...he didn't understand that in that situation he had power...not only due to his race...but his position as a professor too. I couldn't believe that he would be so...ignorant...it was clearly a racist situation.

Another theme discussed by several of the participants which arose in relation to issues of racism within education, was that of children's and youth educational issues and needs. Many

asserted that children of color should be given the same opportunities as White children within education, and should be tracked into college prep courses:

One thing I was thinking was about is when you're young. I work with high school and middle school kids. And it's at that age a lot of times where they get the idea that I can't do this or I can't be this or whatever. When I was in school I was in the gifted and talented class where you were tracked with the entire classes. And I think it's unfair to those who aren't in those classes because everyone should know the requirements to go to college and have the opportunity to at least take the SAT. But when you're in different those tracks, you don't get to make the jump so to speak or at least have the opportunity to go to college. So I was just thinking that people should just be exposed to what it takes...or what they need to do in order to go to college and have a fairer chance in going. Cause I talk to friends who were in the same school but they were in different tracks and they didn't go to college or they didn't finish or it took them a long time because they didn't know what to do. It's not a question of being brighter than, it's just that they didn't know.

Many spoke of inner city schools and the impoverished states in which they can exist, resulting in children of color obtaining a significantly different education than many White students:

One thing that's always struck me is just the whole concept of...a lot of the schools that are in either impoverished areas, inner-city areas, whatever the case may be, the materials are outdated if they exist in the schools. Often times the kids can't take the stuff home with them because they don't have enough. And that in itself provides quite a different experience then some other children have in their schools. In just the way that it has fallen out demographically, those students happen to be the children of color. And then many of the European-American students are at these schools that have the computers and have the this and the that and the other. There's an expectation that with these limited materials and limited number of teachers, overcrowded classrooms...that there's going to be a inability to either get the same information. The information that is being taught is even different. Or even being able to learn that material...given the materials or even given the environment that they are having to deal with too. It's just such an uneven planning field that I can't imagine that there's an expectation that they are going to be able to compete on the same level as students coming from a bit more privilege. And that's the institutionalized aspect of it that hasn't been addressed in the least.

Others suggested that there is an increased need for advisement and counsel which exposes children of color to various options and implant the idea that they can go to college and graduate school. Still another individual believes that it is the younger generations that will change the system and that children are the future. In addition to more general experiences within education, experiences and perceptions of racism specifically related to graduate psychology training was reported.

Racism Within Administrative Policies and Practices

Perceptions of racism within the realm of administrative policies included such areas as the recruitment and retention of students and faculty of color, program development, and criteria by which students are admitted into the university or undergraduate/graduate program. Regarding program development for students of color, the majority of participants stated that none are in existence within their program. Another problem cited was the lack of faculty mentoring (of your same race or of other ethnic minority faculty):

My strong conviction is that most people of color, maybe most people in general, really want a role model or presence of someone who looks like them and seems to

have had the past that they've had. And I think that people will choose not to go certain places if there isn't someone like that there. So what that means, is that to not recruit more minority faculty members, is to essentially sort of invisibly shut the door on minority students and to really cut down on the proliferation of Black Ph.D.'s. And the number of Black Ph.D.'s in this country has dropped to almost half in the past 20 years. These are terrible statistics. Since we clearly have a problem in that regard, I think that one of the ways to improve, is to continue to recruit minority faculty.

The lack of role models and mentors was also mentioned in this way:

I'm at the point right now working on this Ph.D. where I really must rely on folks who do not particularly care about whether I succeed or not. I had a Black advisor. It was a totally different experience for me until that person left. And now I realized that, that person was carrying a lot of weight for me. In one instance I think they are really out to prohibit me from getting what I want. They just don't care. Because there is no one in my department that I think I can go to...that I really can relate to. That I can say, "Gosh. I'm scared to death. I don't know what to do." They've proven over time that they're not going to be helpful for me. So I feel like I'm in a sea by myself trying to figure out...what's the name of this game? I don't fit. And it's clear. It's a weird experience. And I think as I go further up, I can feel it even more. I think that's the main experience that I have. Who can I trust? Who can I talk to? Who really gives a darn whether I succeed or not?

The lack of support groups and peer mentoring for students of color was also mentioned. Variables mentioned in relation to program development and racism included the absence of forum with faculty to discuss issues (lack of formal or informal interactions with faculty of color), the lack of a cultural center on campus (place for social/cultural activities), and a lack of student involvement in the recruitment process.

Instances in which racism within administrative policies were reported include the use of culturally biased intelligence testing and assessment instruments as well as biased criteria used for admittance. Two students stated:

A lot of these departments are working on this very conservative philosophy that, "Well, we can't lower our standards. We're not about to diminish our requirements just to let someone in". But they don't understand that for me these programs these intelligence tests, these admissions tests...all of these tools that they're using for entrance are very slanted towards people of the White culture. So the instruments that they are using are racist in that sense. And so the result is a natural leaning towards that group. And it's still not something that's catching on. When they want to defend themselves they'll say, "Look at the GRE scores". I was lucky enough to score very high on the GRE. So in a way I really think that...even my admissions to the program was accidental in a sense, because nothing was done to court me.

One participant recalled being told that the institution cannot "lower their standards" to let in students of color. The dearth of therapists of color at the university counseling center in providing services to students of color who requested them, school libraries not subscribing to journals and providing books related to multicultural issues, and the absence of people of color and representation of issues in student governmental bodies were also factors mentioned in relation to racism within administration.

In relation to chronic conditions of racism within administration such themes as being hassled and harassed by staff (i.e., library assistants, campus police, etc.) and the lack of academic advisement arose as well. Within the classroom, variables described included the lack of discussion of racism. One woman asserted that the entire educational system need to be "gutted"

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and refurbished and also reported accounts of institutional racism in which preferential treatment given is awarded on the basis of alumni status. She said:

I think the main thing is the frustration because when it comes to education and racism, the process to change what has happened is gonna take so much. And it's so tedious. In reality, what we need to do is blow up the whole system and start over again. And, we can't do that. And, this is where I'm having the problem. The high schools where I work at, the reading levels are three years behind, but we send them through. I've got girls who have a D-'s...can't read, but she's passed onto the next grade. And then we bring them to college and then we don't give them any support. And we don't teach them that in order to go to grad school in psych, you have to have this much information. That's why there are only 3% of us [Black psychologists]. And this is the part that's tedious. And the thing with what America is...they don't learn until something bad happens. And this is what's going to happen. It's like with affirmative action. They went ahead and passed it. Ok. Trust me, they'll put it back in two or three years it won't be called affirmative action, but it'll be called something else. Because it cannot work this way. It cannot work this way. You cannot have what's gonna to soon be the majority of California not educated and survive. It cannot work. And, it's all BS anyway. Because at [graduate institution named], for example, you're put in, over anybody else, if a member of you're family went to [institution named again]. If everything's equal and you're an alum, it's a special consideration. And at Yale, and Harvard, and these other places where we don't have any preferential treatment. And they just had this whole thing out about [institution named] that just happened with people who donated more money. When they were rejected the first time they look at them again and.. So, this idea of preferential stuff.

Students also described their university's lack of interaction with the surrounding community (which was predominantly Black or Latino) and refusal to reach out to the community. For example:

My biggest complaint with [graduate institution named] is how could a university be at the heart of [predominately Black and Latino city mentioned], and has yet not made an impact on that community. They will tell you they have, and I will say baloney. I do not understand how the high schools in that area do not have access to that university. It is not visible, it is not public. We're talking about a well respected, international university with a waiting list to get in...has not made an impact on a community. What is that university doing to help students? That is disturbing to me...very disturbing. We welcome arms to other minorities from other countries. My hypothesis is that White people cater to them. They think they're special. When you present it, they will tell you, "Oh no. That's not happening". But that's what I see. Therefore, if I see it that's what the community sees.

Additional race-related administrative issues included the institution's desire to have more students of color recruited in order to "teach" other students and professors about multicultural issues and to conduct multicultural research. This could be argued to be the result of institutional racism, in that students of color should not be expected to teach issues of multiculturalism. It is not their responsibility, but the responsibility of the faculty who are recruited and hired by the administration. Other students of color mentioned being accepted into a program, then "forgotten about" and ignored.

<u>Lack of Students and Faculty of Color</u>

In relation to the recruitment and/or retention of students of color, some participants reported that the recruitment of students is occurring at a satisfactory level due to Black student

association's active involvement in the recruitment process, and the maintenance of connections to the faculty. Others stated that recruitment and retention was good in their undergraduate experiences, but is lacking in their graduate institution. Many of the interviewees mentioned the glaring absence of African-American men within their departments and programs. One man stated that he is the only Black male who has ever been in his program; another reported that he is the first within the last 15 to 20 years. Others attributed the lack of recruitment of students of color (particularly males) to a lack of academic guidance in high school and college. One person said this:

I met the lone, Black male in our program a year ago. I had heard rumors of him and maybe had seen sightings of him. I finally met him through the grape vine. And there's another professor in our program who I think has been at the school for 11 years. And he says he can not remember aside from this one Black, male student having ever seen a Black male student in the program. And so I feel, whether it's commission or omission that they should or could be doing a little more. In society where they are always pathologizing Black male kids, I do think that there should be some kind of program where they're going out to the schools and recruiting and letting people know what getting into a grad program in counseling psych is about. Because it was very difficult for me. I got no guidance as an undergrad. I took 3 years off and kind of pursued it myself. But unless you show a lot of initiative and have a lot of confidence in yourself, you're not gonna feel you could do a Ph.D. in psych. And so I think there are probably a lot of qualified African-American males out there who could do Ph.D. level work but don't know it and these programs are just not reaching out to them.

Another participant expressed:

The first thing that comes to my mind is just this mere fact of me being the only African-American male to have ever been in my department...my program. The statistics alone are very embarrassing, and really reflect the fact that there is little or no recruitment going on to bring more African-Americans...specifically African-American males into that program. And I've asked, and the department chair has always said something to the effect of, "Well, we're just not getting qualified people to apply". And I know a lot of that is a bunch of bull anyway because I've helped bring in some African-American males. I've helped get some African-Americans to apply to the department who I thought had a lot of skill...a lot of talent. But for some reason they got lost in the shuffle. So I just think that there's been very little recruitment...very little effort to actually bring these people in.

Other themes of racism related to administrative policies included the overall limited number of students of color allowed in the program per year, being told that there are no "qualified" students of color applying to the program, and students being denied the ability to be involved with recruitment processes. Almost every respondent stated that they were not surrounded by many other Black students or students of color. Others mentioned having had one or two classes over several years with another African-American student:

There are only 5 or 6 African-American students in the entire program. I may have had a couple of classes over the years with another Black student. But we all had different schedules each semester.

There are none. Every now and then I'll see another African-American student in class. I'd say for every two classes I take, I may find another student of color in there. And it's always good to see, but you can't depend on it. And within the specific program that I'm enrolled...the department, I don't know if any other students in that

program or that department.

Also several accounts of feeling as if one was the program "token" were revealed. For example:

I think I turned into the Black person that's made it to this point. So we'll give them some opportunity, give that one, were selected out. So if you took those grant jobs, then you were special. But, it wasn't really open to all Black students. And then what happens is they pick out Black folks, I think, to do certain things to be kind of like the token or whatever. And I've been that person too. Not only does it separate you from some of your peers or whatever, but it also sets you up for this kind of belief that other folks could do it if they tried. So it sets up some animosity, I think between folks.

Another participant noted that for research-oriented institutions, research is not being done in relation to issues of diversity. Therefore, students of color are not mentored by instructors with similar interests or those who posses cultural competence:

Here, there's obviously an effort that they're trying to put forth. The program is so small and selective, that I wonder if you're truly making an effort and you are, you got to make double the effort. You know the students are out and you have to go and get them. So you have to make that extra step. Is this department doing that? I don't think so. Having said that, this is a research institution and the reason I am where I'm in this program and with my advisor is because he's doing research in which I'm adding to that data set, but that's why I'm here is because of what he was doing. So it comes down to the professors need to add or be aware of African-American issues in their research. And that's really what will bring people. And, again, that's not really a departmental push.

In relation to being surrounded by faculty of color, every respondent reported not being exposed to faculty of color, or being surrounded by a very limited number. Some students mentioned having no faculty of color on staff within their department or program, or only having one or two members, and noted a lack of concern on the part of their institution. The hiring of faculty of color was viewed as unimportant or unnecessary. Some never had an African-American professor within their undergraduate experience:

I never had a Black professor in undergrad at all. None. Never had a minority. In graduate school when I started my first masters, I had one Black professor and a Hispanic professor. Thus far, I have not had another minority, and I have been in education for 25 years.

Many respondents stated that there is no active recruitment or retention of faculty of color. One student said:

I'll speak to faculty first, and that's to say not good. Where I am right now there is one Black and one Asian professor that I'm aware of anyway that I can think of. And, again, I've now been there four years around there so I think I know all of the people. And that's inappropriate. Basically, everywhere else...I would say pretty much the same thing, you know, minimal token.

A few people recited the fact that the only faculty of color left due to the immense amount of pressure that individual was under in trying to incorporate multicultural issues into the existing program:

[Graduate institution named] has a terrible history of recruiting and retaining African-American faculty particularly and faculty of color in general, and I don't think that they are even concerned with it. Other cultures are also extremely underrepresented like Latinos. They don't understand why it is even a concern. It is a very conservative and White, male dominated institution. A couple of us have gone to the administration explaining the importance of having professors of color to help incorporate non-Western perspectives, but nothing happened. There was one African-American

professor who received tenure and then left. I think that's an indication of the intense amount of racism, stress, and pressure that she underwent. She really went through a lot. It takes a lot to receive tenure...I mean it's publish or perish at that school. And she published and fought a hard battle trying to get tenured. And right after she was tenured she left. I think it was due to what she was put through. The stress and pressure was too great and she had to go. And that was very difficult for the African-American students. She would try so hard to add some sense of sensitivity to the university and I think it threatened some people.

Another student recalled being told that that the absence of faculty of color on staff was due to that fact that they were not qualified due because they were not publishing in "respectable" (predominately White) journals, and the general belief that there are no "qualified" people of color worthy of instructing. For example:

Students have complained, especially at the graduate level, that the professors are not there. It is incumbent upon the university to make an effort to walk the streets, to begin to make the calls, to ask the questions. I honestly believe that they believe, meaning the university, that there are not qualified people of color worthy of instructing. And I disagree. I really disagree.

Others reported perceived pressures faced by African-American faculty members:

The only African-American professor in my department...the guy was overwhelmed. The guy had every African-American...see, the psychology department was large there. And he had every African-American student at his door; especially those of us who were interested in graduate school. And I was actually kind of put off and angered by it at the time because I thought he was blowing me off. But in retrospect, I'm realizing he was protecting himself so that he could function and do his job without spending too much time with everyone who walked in his door. So that was very frustrating for me because I never got to talk to him about what he went through and things like that...things that I really wanted...that I thought would have been really helpful for me. Not even really in the academic realm. I kind of wanted to talk with somebody about the next step of going into graduate school and see what they had been through. And I was not able to do that. Mainly, I think, because of the resource things and there only being one professor there.

Teaching Style and Evaluation Criteria

A few interviewees perceived racism in relation to teaching styles, the use of the Bell curve, and the assessment of ability, and the distribution of grades (i.e., use of oral participation, etc.). One student asserted:

I was talking about being afraid to speak up. That makes me think to the way in which grades are assigned. For this one class in particular, oral participation was a large part of our grade. I ended up getting a lower grade than I think I deserved because of that. I guess a lot of it was on me for not participating more. But...it's like, who has the energy to fight that all the time? And then I think of...I have this Asian friend. And she's not the type to jump in there and raise her hand and fight for the time to speak. So she ends up getting a lower grade. And I think part of that is because of her culture. It's like some of these classrooms are set up in this competitive way and not everyone works like that.

In relation to the teaching style, one student said this:

It's not just what we were learning, it was the style. Which is why I was always in trouble. It was a style of communicating and it was a style of learning that wasn't consistent with my own cultural experience. So in high school, you kind of learned to get along, and I did that. But in college, it just wasn't working for me anymore. I had

such a difficult time suppressing who I was as an African-American woman and being able to learn. I think in our culture, we just don't have that kind of dichotomous thinking...that black or white thinking. It's that hard-core, White western, middle class way of...this is the right answer. There was no room for a different answer. And I think that's culturally related.

Lack of Support Within Educational Program and in General

Other areas in which racism was reported to be experienced included the lack of support (within the program and in general), problematic relationships with professors, the lack of African-American culture incorporated within the educational milieu, and within the classroom. Overall, participants reported feeling slightly supported or not well supported within their graduate programs. In relation to perceived support by faculty, several people felt supported by only one or two professors in the department or program, or their dissertation chair:

There are maybe one or two people who I would consider good advisors. But I would say that the majority of the people wouldn't meet my needs stylistically or informationally or I just don't feel very comfortable with them. But overall, across the board, I couldn't find a high level of support.

Another person mentioned previously feeling unsupported, but now that had dulled. She said:

In this time and space, any lack of support that I've had in the past has kind of dulled. I attribute that to historical support in terms of having students in your class. I've always felt supported by that.

An increased sense of support was described as one had "proven" herself/himself over time. For example:

I'm very supported by my program. I think that I've got more supported over the years since I've proved myself. Which, I think, to certain faculty unfortunately I had to do, which I don't really like the idea. But I feel that they have been wonderful in giving me the support...recognizing what they don't have and showing me where I can get it. We kind of play this game when we first come in. So, you have to learn how to play the game.

One student relayed feeling support due to his own strength and ability to ask for what is needed, as well as his focus and self dedication. Still another participant felt that his program supported him because they perceive him as the "good Black", and want to use him as a high profile case. He asserted:

You generally do feel supported by the department. I feel like they feel lucky to have me around. I feel like they draw on me as a resource a lot. I think I try to represent them fairly. Not someone with a big chip on my shoulder. They figure if they have to have a "Negro" around, then this is a good one to have!

Those who did not feel supported by faculty within their departments perceived a general level of support was absent in entire department or program, and described professors as not being necessarily cruel, but leaving one to survive on their own and not providing necessary information or attention. For example:

I would say they [faculty] probably want us to graduate. So they aren't doing anything particularly cruel, but you have to get your on your own. It's really hard to get the attention and information that I need.

Once again, the absence of support and mentorship in programs was mentioned by many individuals:

A really big problem for me is the lack of mentorship in the program. I am not able to see someone of my race, someone who I can relate to in a unique way, in the very positions to which I aspire. That is really hard. It is hard without the role models and

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the reinforcement and understanding that I could have with African-American professors. It's like, the Anglo professors and students just don't get it. There is something between Black people, an understanding. Sometimes you don't even have to say anything. Sometimes it feels like so many things are a power struggle and a battle. It's tiring.

Another reoccurring theme was the lack of understanding and reinforcement experienced and professors not caring about student's well-being. One interviewee said:

I have one person, one faculty member who I feel is kind of looking out for me. But everyone else...I think they could kind of care less. They're friendly, but if they hear that you can't stay in, that's ok too.

One student asserted that her resilience comes from her family, friends, and or church (particularly the elders) and not via the support of anyone in her graduate program:

I don't really feel that there is any support. I think part of it...is the fact that I have family. And it's the issue of being resilient. And that resilience comes from my family. That my family believes in me...and if I don't feel good about what's happened to me I can tell my family. No support from the structure. No support from the organization. It comes form the familiar relationships...strictly the family. Extended family in the religious circle, the church...very powerful influence. Particularly the older people in the church...the senior citizens. Their attitude is, "Baby, I'm praying for you cause I just want you to have more...than what I've had". Support, absolutely not. When I'm stuck with a question, absolutely not. I have to figure it out by myself.

In relation to support by students, a majority of respondents reported that most of the support received is by other African-American students (i.e., in class, in support or study groups, through social interactions, or peer mentoring). One person relayed this thought:

I would say I get the most support from the other African-American students. And almost all of them are years ahead of me so this might be the first year that I might be the senior Black student in the program and that'll be a real drag. They won't be there for me to call and ask questions.

Over all, I don't feel supported. I think my best support comes from other Black students. We form our own study groups and call each other.

Many participants stated that the number of African-American students are so small, they feel as if they have to support each other.

Finally, within the area of administration, one individual stated that she perceived being brought into her graduate program, and then abandoned due to a lack of support and the absence of academic advising:

It's not anything that's really direct or in your face. It's more like, they may bring you in as the new "Black student" or whatever and then that's the last you hear from anyone. You're then left to sink or swim. And I think that there's much more that could be done in terms of advising, support...I mean I would just like a place to go to talk. Something like a bi-weekly or even a monthly coffee chat with professors and students that could answer any administrative or more technical questions of what to do with this or that. Or even a place just to go to vent and compare experiences...stuff like that. I that would take away a lot of the feeling of isolation I have.

Yet when African-American students would congregate, suspicion arose. One student stated:

This little thing happens when, if the Black students sit together on campus or if a couple of Black students sit together in a lecture, I've heard White students say stuff like, "Why do they have to sit together al the time? What are they doing? What do you

think they're talking about?". Just paranoid kind of things. Same thing with multicultural classes or Black student organizations. "Why do they need their own...?" whatever. They don't ask why the hundreds of other White students are sitting together!

One participant recalled being challenging a White classmate regarding multicultural issues. In return, that classmate got defensive and the rest of class sided with that student. She expressed herself in this way:

Just an overall feeling at times that the class is unsupportive. Or even down right hostile. Once I remember challenging another classmate about a case he was presenting on an African-American adolescent male. And he got very defensive and a lot of the other people in class sided with him, and it really felt like a group power thing. I'm not sure how to say it. But I felt as if it was taking a huge risk for me to say anything...to bring up issues of diversity or whatever. I would be afraid sometimes to bring up a point because I knew what would happen. So as a result, I felt like I couldn't add a lot of time to class discussions. The other students would throw example after example of their personal experiences, and I couldn't do that. And it wasn't only because I was afraid. It was also because sometimes I just could not relate to whatever they were talking about. It's like my experience of things just didn't jive with the theory they were talking about or the topic at hand, or whatever.

Another dynamic consistently mentioned was the constant questioning and challenging of African-American students and student organizations in relation to Black program development, Black housing facilities (dorms), etc., by White students and faculty (further adding to a sense of lack of support on campus). Individuals reported that some African-American students and professors would be viewed as "radical" if they were members of particular Black organizations, and were ostracized for this by White students and faculty. Within the student government arena, instances were recalled in which anger associated with Black issues expressed by White students, were displaced on the single Black representative. Competitiveness (i.e., a lack of cooperation verses a collaborative approach to learning), the segregation of races in relation to living environments and socializing, the feeling of anonymity, a lack of trust between races, as well as continuous problematic interactions with White students were further relayed as adding to an overall sense of non-support within the educational experience. Other problematic social variables within education related to racism and a lack of support, included the need to adjust to majority culture social values and customs and having trouble meeting others with your same ideals.

<u>Lack of African-American Culture Incorporated Within Educational Milieu</u>

On the undergraduate level, most interviewees reported an absence of African-American or other cultures of color within the campus milieu. They stated that an event may be put on for Black history month (once a year), occasional step-shows by Black fraternities, a Reggae band playing in the courtyard once in a while, or extremely dated performers of color were brought in to perform, resulting in poorly attended events.

One individual stated that the incorporation of African-American culture was good if there was a large enough group to support the events. On the graduate level, every participant stated that aspects of their culture were absent, rare, or dissuaded within the surrounding community. Two people describe their experiences in this way:

At the school I go to for graduate work I'd say it's rare...very little. The school I go to now, they have some poorly attended events...kind of at the end of the day. An interesting thing is anything that might attract too many of the neighboring Black people, cause my school is in the middle of a predominantly Black, low SES

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neighborhood, they charge enough money that...I think it's just they're super greedy and also it's a real deterrent.

I purposefully spend a portion of my time contributing to African-American events. I am very involved with Black history month and I started a committee on campus which is involved with ongoing Black events. I also started a Black men's support group here. Again, it's about being the only one. There had never been a group like this here. The university didn't even see the need for it. I actually had a really hard time getting the group started. Some administrators would say that Black men wouldn't show up on a Friday afternoon. But the men came and the group became very successful.

Some thought that there might be some events available, but hadn't heard of any. Still others stated that nothing was done formally by the university, but events were put on informally by Black students. Black students and/or faculty were said to initiate and attempt to display aspects of African-American culture. For example:

Aspects of African-American culture historically included some guests on campus. But it takes February to really get the ball rolling! If there are progressive young people or faculty members...African-American...on campus who want to do something, I found the board or the institution by and large is pretty open to giving people a hearing to do what they want to do. Progressive thinking and proactive movement on the part of African-American people is real necessary or it's not going to get done. If they don't work hard and if they don't light fires underneath the administrator's behind, it will not happen. It's very important to be proactive to see that you are included. The Black faculty and staff caucus have to be relentless in their efforts.

Having to Speak for One's Race

Several participants described instances in which they felt as if they had to "speak for their entire race". The following accounts may illuminate this point:

I felt like I was the in the spot light. I was the person to speak for all African-Americans and to be honest at times that's kind of nice when you have a point that you want to make that's nice! But at other times, if you don't want to be in the spotlight then it's not. That was pretty frustrating at times.

In class, because there are so few African-Americans or people of color in general there, whenever you're in a class you have to speak for the whole, entire race. You are the Black person for the nation. And I get so tired of that. After a point I'm like, I'm not saying anything. I'm just not gonna explain myself anymore to you guys cause...I'm tired. I'm one person. My experience is so different than every other person's. But of course they're like, "Well you have to know something about... ". No I don't.

Participants also reported being faulted for the actions of other African-Americans, or having to "teach" others about their culture. One student described their experiences in this way:

I oftentimes have to be the voice of the Black world. If the topic of ethnicity is discussed, it's like, "Oh, [participant states own name], what do Black people think about this or that?" And...the whole damn OJ thing. If one more student or teacher asked me what Black people thought about OJ! Anyway, that kind of thing always has rubbed me wrong. Well, actually, sometimes I like the idea that I know some things that other's don't. But when it happens so much, I get mad. Because I really like I am

the teacher. And it's not like...oh, we all have something to contribute to the pot and we can learn from each other. It feels more like, well, you can teach us all because no one knows anything. And I'm thinking, when you pay me to teach I will! Until then, you should have at least a minimal amount of knowledge or get out of teaching. And I resent having to teach everyone else. And it comes up too frequently to be coincidental.

Intangible Experiences of Racism

Another dynamic which only can be described as the "feeling" or "intuition" aspect of racism is also of interest. One participant quote states this concept best: "You know, when you ask me to recall experiences of racism, I know there are so many because I get this tight feeling. But to think of one...just one, is hard. It's a feeling I have...a feeling that follows me. I know they are there." So many times a participant wanted to relay a feeling or experience, and simply did not have the words to do so. How do you explain something that you know is there, but no words have been derived to validate and explain your reality? In relation to more subtle experiences of racism, some put it this way: "It's a lot of the small things that are hard to prove. But I *know* it's due to race", "I sense it all the time", "I just knew something was weird", "I don't know how to explain it, but I feel it...and that makes it even harder", "I don't even have the words to say how it feels", "I get this uneasy feeling...", "It was uncomfortable for me...", "It was disturbing to me...", "It really isn't something you can quantify or put your finger on", "I know exactly what you mean, it's just not something you can explain", "I have felt it in the language of professors and other students", and "It's just a feeling I get".

Experiences of Racism Within Psychology Graduate Training

Course Content/Multicultural Issues

This section addresses the fourth research question: in what ways do African-American psychology graduate students experience or perceive racism specifically within their doctoral training in psychology? In general, some participants felt that an effort was being made by their program or department to bring diversity into class work, but was being done minimally and not well. Others felt a lack of support and respect for courses in diversity by faculty and students, and some stated that there was no discussion at all regarding multicultural issues. One individual perceived the field of psychology to be changing, but that there is a long way to go in order to achieve this change. Within the classroom, individuals described experiences in which difference (i.e., cultural differences other than White/Euro-American) was seen as deviant and an embracing of various cultures was absent. One respondents said that the only multicultural course taught was shortened from the regular 14 weeks to 8 weeks. Other individuals mentioned that students had to create a multicultural course themselves if they were to learn about issues of diversity. Specifically in relation to the inclusion of diversity within the classroom and courses, many participants reported that only one multicultural course was required (all issues of diversity are included at that one point in time), but the course was not available within the psychology department (i.e., students had to go outside of the program department to obtain the course). One person expressed this point in this way:

One of the things I did when I got here is I got involved in a committee that addresses the very issue in the department. And we put together a course in culture and ethnicity in mental health, basically, because the department had no course like that. They require everyone who is a clinical student have one semester of diversity related....a whole course on that, right? But there was no course in the department. So what happened was the students had to go outside to social welfare or some other

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department. And the minority students in the department made the case that this is a marginalization of the issue and it's a failure of the department to take it on in a serious way and. And we thought by accepting this way of having to go out of the department to fulfill the requirement, we were, in a way, enabling the department in their lackadaisical approach to getting us a full-time faculty member who could really teach on these issues. So we put together a class.

Almost all of the respondents mentioned a lack of the incorporation of multiculturalism within courses and relayed that teaching was done solely from a Western ("dominant culture") viewpoint . One student explained her perception in this way:

The lack of discussing minority issues. I did not start out as a minority researcher at all. When I came in, I was gonna do child abuse...sexual abuse. Nothing to do with ethnic minorities. But, you sit in class, and I think if you're kind of conscious at all, you eventually begin to notice things that they're not doing the research. And they don't care to do it. And if you want the questions answered you are going to have to answer them. Which doesn't quite make sense to me at all. Especially at [graduate institution named] because I'm at an institution where the majority of our clients are minorities. All of us have minority clientele. And it stuns me. Especially with APA now and what they're saying about needing to know about ethnic issues now because it's an ethical issue...that we're not mandated to have, like, a minority mental health course. We don't have one. And we are not mandated to have one. And, the one that they did offer nobody signed up for because they offered it at the same time as a mandatory graduate class that we all had to take. We should have a year of minority mental health and rural and urban issues, and things like that. So, to me in my training that's definitely an issue for me.

Another student stated:

As far as racism in my training, just the glaring omission of people of color and issues of discussion...seems like if you don't take the culture class you don't discuss culture. Other than that, variations among people of color are somewhat negated. One professor, in, specific said that I, of course, shouldn't concern myself with such differences. More or less the first class night acknowledged that differences are there, but we won't concern ourselves with those differences. So for the most part, that was his way of saying don't bring those issues into the class.

Along these lines, many participants spoke of the lack of competent faculty members to teach diversity-related issues and the idea that text books written for the White student in mind (i.e., teaching White students how to work with people of color). For example:

We have these classes in multicultural issues, and I truly believe that they are designed to teach White folks how to work with people of color. And the assumption is that the student of psychology is not going to be African-American or of any other color. Outside of the classroom, just because of my own interest, I have read about cross-cultural dyads with the therapist of color. But as students of color, we're not in any way taught that.

All the books are written like there aren't Black psychologists. We're just ignored mostly. But when they do write about, let's say, issues of diversity or something like that, it's like...it's written as if we, as counselors, are trying to figure out what the poor Black people are dealing with. And I think, there might have been maybe one book that I've read that took into consideration that I might be a Black counselor trying to figure out what a White client was up to. I needed to have that. But that was a real struggle for me. I took that diversity class in my third year or whatever. And that was

the first time when I kind of got a chance to even know what's been missing in my book. Then I think it was about the same time when I realized that from conversations that many White people thought...well, Black folks don't really come to counseling, or they're usually court referred. And I'm thinking, ah, here I am sitting right in the middle of this field, and this is not a field for my people. Also I was trained to be kind of cold and kind of distance myself from my clients. And now that I'm in the field a bit, I know that, that just does not work. I have to get in there and I have to be real personal with them and friendly with them because the way they function is maybe a little bit different...about the way they give out information, or who they would give that information to. And that's not really covered in those books. I can feel it. I could feel it all those years, but I didn't have words a lot of times to describe what it was that made me upset about my textbook.

Another point relayed included the experience of reading texts in which people of color were depicted in inappropriate or stereotypical ways.

Other conflict arose within diversity courses and the discussion of multicultural issues. There were apparent splits between racial lines. White students were also reported to protest the need for multicultural courses and teachings and even made racist comments with silent colluding by other students. One participant recalled:

I had an experience with one of the very popular Caucasian students. And one time I was going to do a presentation. I was getting ready to walk into the copy room and he and another Caucasian student were talking. And he was saying, "I am so sick of these niggers wanting to do their nigger presentations!" And the other student was colluding. And these people are about to graduate. And the class that I was doing the presentation for...mine was on African-American family therapy and he was in that class.

Heated discussions arising in class regarding the need for multicultural courses, resulting in a racial division and tension. One student put it in this way:

Again, it has been more subtle. I haven't seen any straight out violence or anything by students. But I have heard of or seen things that seem really passive-aggressive. For example, the issue of an ethnic studies requirement or even this issue of diversity in our training. One the one hand, the people of color...or largely the people of color are saying that we want this, this, and this, and explaining why. And then the White students will say shit in the pub eating lunch, or in class, or passing by or whatever. They say things like, "Well, why do we need that stuff anyway?" "All these Black people just want to focus on themselves!" I have actually heard the "go back to Africa" comment! So I see and hear a lot of that kind of conflict. Oh! And this one really pisses me off. When I hear from another White student that they already know enough about Latino culture or Black culture or whatever because, "I have a close Black friend", or "I've had Black clients. I know all of this!" That is just...it's like, because they saw "Boyz in the Hood" or something...suddenly they're experts! I've heard it from professors too. But it isn't in the same way. It's more like, if you want to read that stuff, go ahead. But we don't have any time to cover that here. Or when the White students say that, the professors just let them. They don't say anything to defend the idea of teaching diverse perspectives. So to me, they're just as bad.

Additional experiences of racism relayed specifically to psychology training included being told by professors that issues of difference are of no importance, and told to read up on multicultural issues elsewhere (outside of class). Another student stated that while some professors attempted to incorporate issues of diversity into their course work, he didn't feel that they possessed the knowledge or were qualified to do so. Some people stated that professors

appeared to be uncomfortable teaching or discussing multicultural issues (either due to incompetence or fear of confrontation):

The teachers don't seem to be at all comfortable with the idea of teaching these concepts. I don't know if because they are not competent to do so, or if they are afraid of being confronted. I remember one time, I was in a class and another student...I think a Latina woman...asked a simple question like, how might depression look in immigrant populations or something. And the professor got all flustered. And she turned red and got defensive and eventually said that wasn't the focus or wasn't important or...something to that effect anyway. I do think that part of it is that a lot of the faculty is just truly ignorant about multicultural issues. I think that they do not know the answers to students questions, and that makes them uncomfortable. And I wonder, how can these people be teaching at a major university, with tenured positions, and not know such basic information?

Many students felt that multiculturalism is still resisted and have experienced discomfort and hostility from White students and/or faculty. Two people recounted:

I think it's changing. I think we have a long ways to go. I think part of the issues are still resisted. When you try and to confront the issue of cultural competence and understanding and being sensitive, we always hear, "I don't know why every time we have to talk about diversity, you folks always get upset and get excited" and, "I'm sick of male bashing...White male bashing". And when you try to bring the issue of White privilege it's resisted. And the multicultural pieces that you'll hear them say, "Well, America doesn't really have a culture". And then when you talk about Euro-American models, and that you believe individualism rather than pluralism, you practice separatism, you don't believe in collaborative or cooperative work. And so you set up school structures for kids to fail. It's real difficult for them. They get very upset. They don't wanna hear it. And then when you try to explain that we legislate laws to keep minorities back...we legislate policies that just encourage institutional racism and the thing is, "Well, you're always too excited...I don't know why you're concerned..." so on and so forth.

I think one of the frustrating things was is that, there isn't the kind of respect and support for such programs and courses [multicultural programs and courses] by the faculty in general or by the students. For the few courses that were in multiculturalism, there were a lot of problems with the students...the White students had in taking these courses. They were feeling like they were being forced to take these courses. They complained that, very strongly in fact, that we're all the same, we shouldn't have to take these courses, these courses are inciting division and creating a lot of separatism and hostility. When, in fact, I think that they weren't realizing that they were acting very defensive and resistant to a lot of the multicultural kinds of courses. Unfortunately at [graduation institution named] it's been a very, very heated argument. Unfortunately at [graduation institution named] we don't even have an emphasis or specialty area that can really help students who want to specialize and go into that field. Because we have no professors in the area. So it's been a real problem.

Some felt that individuals in power do not have sensitivity to issues of diversity and are not interested:

[Regarding the lack of multiculturalism throughout the program]...it reflects the lack of sensitivity from those in power, such as our department head. They did not, necessarily, and do not necessarily have those sensitivities. I'm just glad to be getting out because I don't know what the future is going to look like. Particularly now since

we've gotten the APA accreditation and they did all the things necessary to get that. I wouldn't be surprised if they got comfortable and complacent and, perhaps, didn't push like they were pushing when we were trying to get the accreditation.

Additional themes which arose included: the dissuasion of discussions of multicultural issues by professors and students, multicultural courses taught ended up teaching stereotypes, no multicultural course had been offered since the only faculty of color left the program, and the fear of negative repercussions if they were to ask for a multicultural course.

When several of those interviewed spoke up and asked that issues of diversity be included or asked a question of a cultural nature, they were told that if you want to know about multicultural issues, they were to read it on their own. In other instances, blanket statements were made at the beginning of course to the effect that "this may not apply to everyone" (as a disclaimer), and there was no further discussion of the issue:

We have the diversity course, multiculturalism course, but aside from that...and that also is it seems very cursory as well to me. It's one quarter and that makes an attempt to speak to all of the differences among all areas of diversity in one quarter. It just doesn't begin to tap into it. Aside from that, maybe a professor will say, "And by the way, these theories won't necessarily apply to all people", but and then they carry on. So there's a little bit of lip service given to acknowledging, but there's really not much that's done to either encourage a discussion or even invite a discussion of how you may approach either persons of color or persons who represent some other form of diversity given these frameworks or theories or even ways of practicing. It's just...usually this may not work for everyone, this has been said to be a biased approach but, that's about all that's said. So it seems to be a fairly empty acknowledgment to me.

Other times if there was no discussion of these issues in class or no courses offered, students of color reported taking it upon themselves to provide the multicultural information, experiences, and theories to facilitate the learning process.

Specifically in relation to the content of theory taught, every participant interviewed stated that they are taught primarily or exclusively from a Western/Euro-American perspective. Two students said:

[Regarding theory taught] It's very Euro-centric, very Western. Predominantly the theories that are taught are very much of the classical schools, cognitive behaviorism, Jungian, and the psychoanalysis. Since there are so few African-American students in our program, it puts a lot of pressure on us also. Because what we try to do is that we've been trying to include and really help the learning process. Which I really think they should acknowledge the fact that we're trying to follow their lead and help the field grow in knowledge and diversity as far as information. When we as students have brought up Afri-centric theory and examples African psychology...when we quote people like [Black theorist named], and when we quote people like [another Black theorist named] and others that are in the field, it doesn't get that kind of respect. And if authors are not cited in the "respectable", White journals, it doesn't receive that type of respect and support it would if it were White authors in predominantly White journals.

One participant recalled being told by professors that "holistic" approaches and views were not encouraged. He stated:

One of the mentors that I have at the university that I'm now at, mentioned that a more holistic way of looking at things is not encouraged and to expect that. That there is a very discreet, analytical prospective on how "good" research looks and it does prize and value those things that can be isolated, bonafide, and many times alternative

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explanations are encouraged simply for the fact that they cannot be proven. When you take up the matter of proof, and what is proof, and what can be considered valid proof, a lot of times you get yourself into some real thorny water. And his recommendation to me was to voice concerns when they come, but you're really going to be pushing against a wall. The best case scenario is to get your degree and go on to teach and do things...practice the way that you feel more comfortable in doing. But instead of fighting the system, you may want to consider trying to get along in a comfortable way with what the standard is and to learn that perspective so that you can challenge that perspective. It's good to be knowledgeable of it so that it can be disputed if ever the time comes up to dispute it. So that's kind of the advice that I've lived under.

The inability to analyze and counter theories in the classroom was also attributed to the lack of exposure to multicultural ("alternative") theoretical frameworks. Students reported that they did not have a basis from which to challenge theories which did not fit into their worldview. Similarly, the inability to relay personal experiences due to a lack of congruence with Western theories (i.e., your experiences do not relate to Western thought being taught) was also mentioned.

Finally, within the realm of research, research done by students of color was not supported or even invalidated. Some students said they have had to have to conduct research that "meant nothing to them". One participant stated:

I told you I'm the only African-American male in my program, but we have a fair number of African-American women and we have Latina women, and one Latino male. I've watched my other colleagues of color have a lot more trouble going through this program and mainly over the issue of research interests. They all come in with a research interest having to do with studying people of color in some way. None of the faculty do this or none of the faculty did this at the time. Most people want to get into the community. So, the first step is having your interest, sort of, invalidated. You come and you are supposed to apprentice yourself to a faculty member. And it's much better if you do what they do. They say that you can do something else, but it really ought to be close to what they do. And it's taken years for us to get people to be a little bit more flexible on that. But, I've watched people get really demoralized by doing work that just means nothing to them. There are multiple levels. Like, you can't do that you want to do because I don't do it, i.e., I don't think it's important, I don't think you're important, I don't think your culture is important. And that's a big set back in this program of mine that emphasizes your research identity first. This is a program that claims that we're training scientists, practitioners, and what we want you to do is become an academic faculty member. So, when you take away from people the right to pursue their passion early on, their training is gonna suffer. Because they will be trying to study something that they don't really give a shit about, they'll do it kind of poorly, in a half-assed kind of way, and...begin to get turned off from academia all together and make the decision, as most of my colleagues make, to just become clinicians. It's taking away from people the right to study what they want to study. You're a little bit marginalized. I think that marginalization feels familiar for a lot of these people because they have that experience of being in the skin that they are in. I definitely think that it somehow becomes a conduit for great problems that these students have, developing a professional identity and ultimately leaving the program feeling at the top of their field.

Internship/Practicum Experiences

In addition to racism experienced within course work, racism within internship experiences was also reported. Several respondents mentioned having supervisors who were not culturally competent, and only conceptualized cases from a Western/Euro-American point of reference. Further, they stated there was no attempt to appreciate difference. In other arena, negative evaluations by supervisors were received by students, due to student's cultural and racial characteristics. One woman recounted this example:

In my internship right now, one of my supervisors wrote up her appraisal of me. And on manner of dress she kind of marked me down. And I thought well, everyone's got their own opinion that's kind of subjective. Unless I'm sitting here in jeans and sneakers, which I see several interns showing up in, but she didn't think I dressed appropriately. I don't know if she had an issue with my hair [note that the participant wears braids], or the fact that I wear a head wrap. So I don't know what that's about.

Another participant recalled overt racist comments made by a supervisor regarding his skin color and cultural heritage:

Unfortunately I did have a bad experience in one of my early praticums. It was so unfortunate because it wasn't subtle at all. The type of racism and the reaction that I got was just so direct and I had to respond very strongly to what I thought was an attack. What had happened was is that this particular person had said to me, and it wasn't based on anything that we had been talking about. She said to me, "I'm sure other people may not know. But I know exactly what you are." She went further to explain herself. Being that I'm light skinned African-American and being that some may not know that I'm African-American or think that I'm African-American or don't fit certain stereotypes...what she proceeded to explain to me was is that she comes from a part of the south where there are a lot of Cajun people in Louisiana. And she knew that my last name is French. And so she had deduced that I was Creole, which in fact is correct. And she explained, "I'm Cajun and I'm from this particular area and I can pretty much tell you're from that particular area". And it just hit me because this person was discussing my race in a term of...I found you out. Not that there was any secret I was keeping from this woman. And so what I felt very strongly was is that here was someone working from a very racist frame of reference. And she was mentioning something, like many racists do, to indicate power...I've got power over you.

More general racial tension with White supervisors and a lack of trust in supervision, (i.e., supervisor relates socio-political events in supervision inappropriately) was also expressed:

It was during the time of the O.J. Simpson case. And the day that they showed the verdict on the news, the counseling center happened to have the TV on. And everybody was watching it of course. Well, what was interesting was is that in our very room, we were very much like the courtroom and other people who were watching this event at that time, Black and White. And it really seemed like our counseling center's reaction was very like the reactions of the public and really divided along those racial lines. And there wasn't really anything discussed verbally, but our reaction within that was room was that for some of the African-Americans, we immediately identified with the fact that...ok...another African-American wasn't pinned with a certain crime, or another African-American wasn't labeled unjustly, or with planted evidence and this sort of thing. Whereas the White people in the audience immediately became angry about the verdict feeling that here was someone who got away with everything got away with murder. And immediately identified with the White victims that were involved. And the reason why I brought this up was because with my supervisor that year, is that my supervisor and I were disagreeing on a couple

of real clinical issues. And it was coming to the end of the year. And we were talking about some of our differences as far as perceptions and stuff...some clinical things that were going on and for some reason, this particular supervisor brought up, "Well, you know, we think differently. Look how you reacted to the O.J. Simpson trial and look how I reacted to the O.J. Simpson trial". And I thought for a minute, what does this have to do with each other? I'm talking about the case and our disagreement as far as some of the treatment of the case, and you're talking about something that happened in our staff meeting during our lunch when we were watching TV. But I realized was is that this particular White supervisor has taken that particular instance, recorded it in his mind, and stored it away like this was either a disappointing or...kind of an upsetting thing for him to witness the elation of the African-Americans to the trial. And so I think that he was actually holding that in...and I feel that, as a result, he kind of had this feeling of African-Americans being separate from him. And I think for him, and maybe a lot other Anglos, is that it's a feeling maybe of betrayal by supporting the decision of the jury with the information that they had, that somehow this was a betrayal of him and other Whites. I say that because I really feel that because of that incident, I think that particular supervisor somehow there was something racially going on in his mind as far as us trusting...for it to come out later as it did it was really interesting. So he must have been holding onto it for a while.

Other experiences included being subjected to racist comments made about clients of color by supervisors and/or other interns or staff, inappropriate personal comments made by supervisors regarding, for example, interracial dating, hair texture, being "pigeonholed" to work in certain communities when wanting exposure to various populations, and the constant shock exhibited by clients because you are Black upon meeting them after speaking on the phone or meeting for the first time. For example:

I have had this thing happen where I'll speak with a client on the phone, and when they finally meet me, they are shocked that I'm Black and say that I "Don't sound Black". And then I have to prove myself...that I'm capable of doing therapy. It's the whole thing again of automatically being perceived as less than.

Another student mentioned witnessing what she perceived as the misdiagnosis of clients of color and stated:

In a practicum, I remember we were watching a tape of a schizophrenic case, and the client was African-American. And it's was very interesting because he was saying some stuff and the teacher came out with what the problem was and the students agreed except for me and [names classmate], this student who is also African-American. And we were both like, no. And it seemed clear to us, that possibly what he was discussing wasn't necessarily delusional spirits and things like that.

Also in relation to diagnosis, discrepancies in relation to client diagnosis occurred between interns of color and White supervisors and students. One participant stated:

What has happened is...you are a counselor of color, your clients are clients of color and your supervisor is Anglo. And sometimes it's hard to know if you feel that the supervisor is giving you the right advice. There are issues that you might feel like you understand better because you and the client might share some particular traits. And then you go and talk to a supervisor who's Anglo, and you just can't be sure sometimes that they're taking the same things into account that you are.

Receiving culturally competent supervision in the areas of psychological testing and assessment was reported to be absent.

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Individuals spoke of experiences in which they were perceived as incompetent. They felt that supervisors and clients were skeptical of their clinical abilities due to nothing more than their race. One interviewee recalled being exposed to racist comments made by clients. For example:

I have had...parents at first approaching me about their kid kind of skeptical of who I am. And I know in one meeting I had a parent's daughter who ended up really liking me say...her daughter said, " Well mom, you know how you trained the dog to hate Mexican and Black people and he attacks them when he sees them, or barks at them and tried to get them." And the mother was going, "Honey! Honey!" And I had no idea. I mean, I knew something was weird. But pretty much I think most people cover it up. And it's not as overt as it used to be.

Some people suspected that an internship was denied due to their race. During a case presentation presented from an Africentric perspective at one internship, one student described her experience of being ignored, misunderstood, and invalidated in this way:

With supervisors, it's like being in classes and being taught or supervised by a person or people who have very little knowledge about the population you are working with. I have done case presentations and conceptualized a case from a more Africentric or just a culturally appropriate way, and have been told that I am wrong. I was presenting a testing case and when my supervisor asked me how I knew something...some aspect of the case. I mentioned something to the affect that I used my intuition or my spirit. And he asked me to operationalize that! I gave up at that point. I was attending a lecture on suicide and added a cultural perspective. But the end result was...and mind you, this is after getting my nerve up to speak in an audience of all White doctors, students, social workers, etc. etc. Anyway, I had outlined and totally planned out what I was going to say and after I had made my point, I look around and see all these blank and confused faces. And then was shot down by the speaker. It wasn't anything he said directly like, "Oh, that's not right." It was more of an invalidation where he tried to counter my point with another one and...I don't know how to explain it. But it felt as if he was blowing me off either because he didn't understand my point or didn't agree with it. I think it's more that he didn't understand. Because if he didn't agree, he could have refuted it better.

Other experiences reported included hearing racist jokes/comments made by fellow interns regarding clients of color (or in general), and being omitted from discussions and decision-making processes. An additional factor mentioned in relation to working with White interns was the competitive nature and lack of a collective and collaborative learning experiences which was attributed to European American values. She stated:

I've thought a lot about this and have asked a lot of friends about this. But there is this competitiveness that happens. And I don't feel this when I have worked with interns of color. There's this, "I've gotta get mine" mentality instead of a collective type of, "Let's help each other out" kind of thing. So they hide any articles they get or any information about upcoming seminars and things like that. A lot of this kind of thing I am going through now.

The selection criteria for interns (i.e., no consideration for multicultural training or cultural competence) was also reported and attributed to experiences of racism within the internship experience:

Our agency is now going through the selection process for next years interns. And the criteria that they use seems very inappropriate to me. I mean, I work in community mental health with not only people of color, but low-income people. And multicultural sensitivity is not apart of the selection process. And from what I have seen and experienced, it also reflects in the administrator and staff.

Intraracial conflict among African-American supervisors and clients was also relayed. A participant reported conflicts with Black clients in which he was told by Black clients that he was not "Black enough" and that he was an "Uncle Tom". In relation to supervision, this same respondent reported his over-identification with an African-American supervisor:

We have one Black faculty member. And he was my research advisor for the first four years here. And I had one Black supervisor, and I worked with him for a year. And with both of them, I had a very difficult time. And I feel now, that I can honestly say that part of it was transferential. And I think that here, our common Black maleness...just brought up, for me some sort of father stuff for me or...I would tend to see these men as very rigid, difficult to get along with, authoritarian. I would say these two significant, sort of, prominent Black males who I dealt with in my professional career, who you would think would be sort of role models. And, actually, I remember coming to them with the hope that they would be...I found disappointing in various ways and difficult. A let-down in a lot of ways.

Finally, being the first person of color at an internship site was also reported :

As an African-American person in the internship arena, I know that I was at a practicum where there had never been a person of any color at the sites. Forget about not only an intern, just a therapist of color in general. It really affected the routine of the place. No one thought of Black history month. No one thought about all the other things that are beneficial to helping people of color toward mental health. Clients would talk directly about wanting to see "another person like me".. I asked my supervisor about this and he told me, "Well, it's because people of color don't apply for this place." I find that hard to believe because when I applied, there were many other people of color who applied too.

Program Administration

In addition to racist interactions and perceptions within internship settings and the classroom, respondents recounted experiences with program administration which were particularly relevant to training in psychology. One variable related to this category included the idea that the only faculty of color was hired due to outside pressure. Another issues to surface was the lack of multicultural issues incorporated within qualifying exams and the lack of accountability for multicultural competence within a system. Participants expressed the need for the inclusion of diversity related portions or questions within these exams. The point was made that the institution is not being held accountable for requiring that students demonstrate a minimal amount of multicultural competence before progressing to doctoral candidacy:

Not only are issues not taught in class, but also in quals and stuff like that. I mean, I guess it makes sense. They don't really teach the stuff anyway, so why put it in quals. But still, that means something. On these different levels, no one is being held accountable or responsible for having this knowledge before they go out into the professional world.

A few respondents mentioned that some diversity had been incorporated into their program in order to attain APA accreditation. But once accreditation was obtained, the focus and dedication to issues of diversity were abandoned. Another individual stated that while their program is open to the idea of multiculturalism, nothing has been done to implement this.

One student made the point that attempts had been made to incorporate multicultural issues, when in fact they needed to be infused. He proposed:

I think they're making a good effort right now. I think they have a long way to go because I think they're incorporating them and they need to be infusing them. And it just needs to be a part everything. But for so long, ethnicity and race and stuff, has

been, you teach about...this is how American is and then you teach about, well the Chinese did this and Black people did this. And it's just a little segment. Instead it should be taught throughout every class, on every dimension, across all races.

Other respondents stated that the only African-American professor in the program would try to integrate issues of diversity into his/her the coursework. One student mentioned that she was told by an administrator that since one or two classes attempted to discuss multicultural issues- there was no need for a full course. Within the area of research, a lack of support for research interests which were multicultural in nature, as well being forced to use White comparison groups in doing mainstream research when it was not necessary was also reported. Upon exploring experiences of racism with education and psychology training, affective reactions and the evaluative reactions to these experiences were reported.

Researcher observations

Researcher-participant interaction proved to be very interesting. All participants were told briefly about the nature and topic of the research and agreed to participate. Yet the reactions received varied from open acceptance to reservation and suspicion. Many people were excited by the topic of the research and were happy to contribute to a knowledge base which spoke to the topic of racism. Many times the researcher was warmly invited into people's homes. All participants were doctoral students, many with families, and were juggling going to school working. Most of these individuals went out of their way to find a time in which to meet.

Still, others were cautious in their interactions with the researcher. One person stated, after the interview, that he was afraid that the researcher was "one of those militant types of Blacks". The variety in perception among the participants was indeed interesting. It was found, in particular, those participants who were married to or dating White individuals were particularly hesitant to speak with the researcher. They stated that they were afraid that I was the type of Black person that would judge them. Interestingly, there was often the assumption that, based on the type of research I was doing, I was "anti-White" so to speak. The perceptions of the researcher appeared to play a role in data collection. For example, upon attempting to gather members for the focus group, the researcher was amazed that only two individuals showed from a relatively large pool of potential participants. Upon the completion of the group, one of the members informed the researcher that several of the Black students did not support her research due to the fact that there are White members within the researcher's family and social interactions.

One individual appeared to be quite defensive and would challenge many of the questions asked. He said that he was very uncomfortable speaking about the issue of racism because, to him, it meant having to speak badly about people he cared about. Yet even those who were cautious in their interactions with me stated that they were, on one level, interested and dedicated to the elimination of racism and wanted to help in any way they could. Others stated that they wanted to support a fellow Black student, or wanted "good Karma" for when it was time for them to collect data. Many people reacted to the word racism. Some became upset and were unable to use the word. Others appeared to be triggered by the word and it opened them up to relay many rich experiences. In retrospect, the term "race related" may have been a safer term to use.

An interesting dynamic which occurred was the fact that several participants would start off stating that everything was pretty much "okay", that they were unable to recall any experiences of racism, and were unable to attribute racism to much of their educational experience. Yet upon answering the structured questions, they would recall situations, experiences, and issues related to racism. Many then became uncomfortable, angry, or sad. Even those who initially denied the existence of racism were able to acknowledge several instances and accounts. Others truly

believed that they were getting the best educational experience possible, until various questions lead them to re-evaluate their experience. This dynamic might be interpreted as the notion that participants may have thought that they were supported, that they are getting training which enabled them to work with multicultural and diverse populations, etc., when in fact they might not know anything else. They may not have known what they were missing. This may also be attributed to the level of exposure to other students and faculty of color. The ability to talk about and process various issues and experiences may bring things to the surface. A thought one might easily attribute to a personality flaw or one's hypersensitivity, may be validated by a group process. You are then able to realize that it's not just you and are able to identify the experiences as related to racism.

Overall, many expressed to the researcher, upon the completion of the interview, that it had been an extremely cathartic experience for them. Some said:

> "You have helped me recall things in one hour from so many years back...", "Thank you for listening and allowing me to have a place to talk about this...", "I have never had a formal place to discuss these issues...", "I'm glad to have the opportunity to talk to somebody who I know can understand it.".

While an overall feeling of release was relayed, it followed many tears. Relaying such intimate and intense events and emotions was extremely painful for many. Some participants became angry upon recalling repressed memories of racism, and many simply cried. A dynamic which frequently arose was a type of group dynamic (which was seen in both the focus group and within individual interviews) in which people "knew" what the other was going to say, or what another was feeling. Within the focus group, a group member would start talking, and the other member would be able to complete the other's sentence or thought. This was not perceived as an intrusion, but more of a sense of understanding and validation.

While no participants stated that they required psychological referrals, most did stay after the interview to continue to talk and process with the interviewer. They would continue to speak of addition experiences of racism that they had forgot to mention during the interview. Others spoke of what racism meant to them as well as the feelings that were brought up. Many participants appeared angry and sad. Some appeared to be more comfortable in relaying more painful instances of racism after the recorders had been turned off.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to answer the general questions: to what extent (if any) is racism experienced within education, and what is the nature and extent of racism experienced within psychology graduate training? The study, thus, explored and described experiences and perceptions of racism (interpersonal, environmental, and institutional) within educational systems in general, and psychology graduate training in particular. These experiences were examined from the perspective of current African-American students in the process of completing doctoral degrees in psychology. Analysis of the data answered the six research questions which explored: a) general experiences and perceptions of racism within education, b) experiences and perceptions of racism specific to graduate training in psychology, c) specific dimensions and sources of racism experienced within education, d) areas in which racism can be experienced, e) emotional and evaluative reactions to experiences of racism, and f) styles and strategies of coping with racism. Another major thrust of the study was to illuminate and describe the more subtle or aversive experiences of racism by allowing participants to relay these experiences with their own words.

Interpretation of Data

During the past 30 years, efforts have been made to measure the university campus environment by exploring general student experiences and stressors related to ethnic minorities (Edwards, 1984; Gunnings, 1982; Pliner & Brown, 1985). While stressors have been explored, the specific forms of the stressors have not been identified. Further, while research (Edwards, 1984; Fleming, 1981; Westbrook, et al, 1978) states that the academic, social, and personal lives of ethnic minority students have historically been fraught with many problems, the nature and extent of these experiences have not been adequately investigated. When racism as a stressor is mentioned, it is touched upon lightly and the various dimensions, types, and variables related to racism are not described in any detail. This study filled in some of these gaps by identifying specific variables of interpersonal, environmental, and institutional racism within education and psychology graduate training. Voids were also filled with the examination of racism in relation to administrative policies and practices, the university milieu, and community interactions.

Further, the existing research on racism tends to explore more overt experiences of racism (i.e., cross burning on campus, racial slurs, etc.). The current study has been able to extend these experiences to include the subtle instances which can occur on a daily or more frequent basis, contributing to the chronic stress experienced by ethnic minority students. Much of the previous research (Allen, 1988; Guloyan, 1986; Gunnings, 1982; Livingston & Stewart, 1987; Nottingham, et al. 1992; Pliner & Brown, 1985) has commented generally and sporadically regarding various experiences of racism within education. However, existing research has not organized this information in a comprehensive fashion as is done here.

The current research not only adds to the organization of students' experiences, but provides detailed accounts of these various categories with added dimensions of racism within education. The literature (Bowser, 1981; De La Cancela & Sotomayor, 1993; Fernando, 1988; Wade, 1993) continues to suggest that educational systems as well as the institution of psychology are affected by racism within the larger society. These researchers further propose that racism has been absorbed into institutional practices of the profession. Additional literature (Bulhan, 1985; Prilleltensky, 1989; Sarason, 1981) asserts that psychological theories, practices, and instruction have been greatly influenced, structured and created by and for the "dominant" or White-western culture. This study adds supports to all of the above notions. While research, in general, has paid little attention to the effects of oppression, the need for cultural competence, and the effects and sources of institutional racism, the current research acts to fill these voids. The following sections will discuss the results of this study and examine these results in the context of existing theory and research.

Proposed Conceptual Framework

The various dimensions and areas of racism experiences that were described by participants can be conceptualized within the three by four matrix presented in Figure 1. Dimensions refer to types of racism and include specific/overt incidents (i.e., events), chronic conditions (i.e., racism embedded in a context), daily micro-experiences (events), and vicarious/collective experiences of racism (Harrell, 1996a). Areas of life where racism occurs include: a) general life activities (i.e., social, shopping, etc.), b) general educational experiences, and c) and racism experiences specific to training in psychology. Specific and overt incidents of racism can occur in the area of general life activities (e.g., while shopping), educational experiences (e.g., being called a derogatory name while crossing campus), and experiences specific to psychology training (e.g., being told by a supervisor that Black people are intellectually inferior). Examples of chronic, ongoing conditions across the three areas include being the first person within your family to attend college, the dearth of faculty of color, and being the only person of color at an internship or practicum site. Daily micro-experiences of racism include more subtle incidents such as being followed in a store while shopping, being minimized due to your race (i.e., questions ignored in

class), and being told that issues of diversity are of no importance. Finally, vicarious or collective experiences are those
where one witnesses or hears about racism encountered by another person or persons. Examples include: observing another African-American person being treated negatively or unfairly by law enforcement, observing another African-American student shamed in class, or observing African-American professors challenged when presenting issues of diversity. Some responses could have been placed in multiple categories. These categories can serve as a framework for which to base the aforementioned data. This framework can assist in a better understanding of overt and subtle forms and experiences of racism.

General Experiences and Perceptions of Racism within Education

The first research question asked: in what ways is racism generally perceived and experienced among African-American psychology graduate students with respect to their educational experiences? Participants in this study were able to discuss general experiences of racism within their lives and within their education by: defining racism and describing what it meant to them, describing in what areas of their life that had experienced being treated negatively due to their race, relaying major stressors they had experienced within their educational experience, and explaining general experiences related to racism within their education. Overall, major stressors within participants' educational experiences were found within the classroom setting, social/campus community interactions and issues, and interpersonal issues. Experiences that participants related specifically to their education involved problematic interactions with professors, problems surrounding academic advisement, problematic experiences within the classroom in general, and conflictual interactions with White students.
In general, participants expressed experiences of isolation, rejection, anxiety, unfriendly social climates, overt experiences of racism (i.e., name calling, physical altercations, threats, etc.) and the incompatibility of their cultural values with White culture. This research, thus, supports literature which outlines similar occurrences (Allen, 1988; Farrell & Jones, 1988; Henley, 1990; Peterson, 1990; Sanders, 1987; Turner, 1985). Many participants stated that they felt that, in addition to the stresses of adapting and surviving everyday academic life, they were at a disadvantage in being forced to deal with instances of discrimination and racism. Additionally, as stated by Spaights, Dixon, and Nickolai (1985), participants experienced that faculty members believed that they were intellectually inferior to White students and reacted to them accordingly. Family issues (i.e., being the first in your family to attend college and/or graduate school) as well as a commitment to one's culture and race were also themes that evolved within this category. The current research suggests that continued attention be paid to race-related stressors within the African-American student experience. It is unfortunate that, in addition to interpersonal and environmental experiences of racism experienced on a continual basis, institutional factors exist to compound that reality. The fact that several relatively young, African-American individuals are the first in their families to attend higher educational settings reflects the continuing legacy of institutional racism resulting in educational disparities.

Specific Dimensions and Types of Racism Experienced in Education

The second research question asked: do these experiences and perceptions (of racism) reflect different dimensions of racism? This category was adopted from Harrell's (1996b) Racism-related Stress Process Model (RSP) and included interracial and intraracial conflicts and tensions on campus and within surrounding communities, specific life events involving racism, and chronic conditions of racism experienced within education. Specific life events involving racism which participants experienced within their education involved experiences within the classroom, perceptions of the student by faculty and peers, and social interactions. Chronic conditions of racism in education were experienced in relation to administrative policies

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Figure 1

Dimensions and areas of racism experiences

Dimensions/forms/types of racism:

Areas:	Specific- overt incidents	Chronic- ongoing situations	Daily micro- experiences	Vicarious/collective experiences
General life activities				
Educational experiences * family socialization * classroom * administrative policies/practices				
Psychology-specific experiences * internship * course content * relationships with professors				

and practices, classroom dynamics, general academic issues, and interpersonal issues. Interracial conflict was described to occur within the classroom, on campus, and within the surrounding community. Themes including alienation and being "the only one", the exclusion from social events and study groups, and the need and desire "to be heard", also arose. Participants continually spoke of being avoided, ignored, and excluded due to their race. This supports theories of intergroup relations (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994) which suggest that interracial conflict exists due to group competition and the need for "elite" status in relation to other groups. Theories of stereotypes and prejudice (Snyder & Meine, 1994) were also supported. White students may have been able to detach or distance themselves from African-American students by justifying inequitable relationships between groups, ignoring the misfortunes of students, and lessening a sense of personal responsibility for the racist treatment of African-American students. A large category to emerge was the experience of constantly being questioned as to one's status on campus and one's academic abilities, and the lowered expectations for African-American students. Participants considered that these experiences, in particular, chronic and reoccurring at every level of their education. This holds implications in relation to the treatment of African-American students, and African-American people in general. What type of opportunities may be denied to African-Americans due to lowered expectations and conscious or unconscious beliefs of intellectual inferiority?

Intraracial conflict centered around physical characteristics, relationship issues, social and academic issues, and ethnic identity/assimilation issues. The current research finds support for statements made by Webster, Sedlacek, and Miyores (as cited in Maynard, 1980), in relation to African-American students reporting problems with ethnic unity, ethnic trust, and intraracial conflict. Based on participant responses, it may be interpreted that the causes of such conflict can be largely attributed to the impact of environmental and institutional racism. Institutions, by favoring particular Black students as the program favorite or "token", may create resentment among other students. Also, the European ideals of beauty have infiltrated the African-American community resulting in intraracial conflict (i.e., individuals with lighter skin, straighter hair may have conflicted with those who posses the opposite traits). The perceived need for racial unity in relation to surviving decades of racism, may be a dynamic which causes intraracial conflict in terms of interracial dating. The need for African-American people to "stick together" was seen by some to be threatened by those who date interracially. Also, the internalization of White values such as competition versus collaboration may serve as a catalyst for conflict among Black students as well. This dimension of intraracial conflict speaks to the issues of student support. While instances of intraracial conflict were discussed, the need for support by fellow African-American students was also reported. Thus, the effects of institutional racism (i.e., internalized racism resulting in intraracial conflict), may cause additional tension and serve to further divide students. This can add to already stressful experiences and decrease at least one mode of coping consistently reported by participants.

Another striking finding was in relation to the chronicity in which African-American participants reported instances of racism. Chronic experiences of racism were explained to be instances which have reoccurred throughout one's life, within various levels of education. Almost every respondent mentioned having their ideas, contributions, and/or ethnicity minimized. Their status and abilities were always being called into question, and expectations of them were always lower than their fellow White students. These findings hold serious implications as to how African-American individuals (and perhaps other groups of color) continue to be viewed as "less than" in our society. Many may be outwardly appalled and disgusted by the "scientific" works of Hernstein (1971), Jensen (1969), and others who propose theories of cultural and genetic inferiority of African-Americans. However, the current data suggest that these beliefs have infiltrated the belief system of many White individuals in our

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society, or at least those instructing and attending classes with African-American students in this study. Again, these findings illuminate the subtleties in which institutional and cultural racism continue to be perpetrated.

An unfortunate finding included the problematic self-concept issues which ensued following these constant, racist messages. Some participants began to question their own abilities and intelligence. They were unclear as to whether they actually were competent and qualified enough to be receiving a college or graduate education. This researcher would argue that this questioning of one's own intellectual abilities comes directly from consistently negative messages coming from the "dominant" culture regarding the intelligence and capabilities of African-American people. This further holds implications for children and youth at all levels of education. Are qualified high school students not considering applying to college because they perceive that they are not "smart enough" to do the work? Are college students resisting applying to graduate schools because they believe they have gone as far as they can go up the educational ladder? These are questions which may be answered by further exploring individual's self-perceptions as related to internalized racism, goal setting, and achievement. Another unfortunate finding was the constant questioning of ones self in terms of being "Black enough". This might represent an additional stress perceived by students, and further represent the result of cultural racism (i.e., dividing African-American people).

Areas in Which Racism is Experienced in Education

The third research question asked: in what areas within educational experiences can racism be found? Various areas in which racism was experienced were outlined including: within the classroom, social interactions encountered outside of the classroom (i.e., campus environment and the surrounding community), and administrative practices and policies. Participants also spoke of issues including: a lack of support they perceived from other students, faculty, and staff, the lack of other African-American students and faculty, and a lack of African-American culture being incorporated into their educational surroundings. An additional area of racism experienced was that of vicarious racism (witnessing another person(s) of your race or another person(s) of color in a racist situation). This variable has not been explored in past research. The current research adds to this dynamic with the identification of situations and variables in which vicarious racism was experienced.

As outlined in past literature (Lunneborg & Lunneborg, 1985), the issue of social support was salient in the current research. Participants stated perceptions reflecting administrators' and faculty members' negative attitudes towards them, the lack of social interactions, and the feeling that their educational surroundings were cold and unfriendly; resulted in a general sense of lack of support. As a result of stress related to racial conflict, respondents often were forced to choose separatism as a mode of coping with adverse environments (which added to their feelings of social isolation). This included what Parker and Scott (1985) label as intentionally disinviting behaviors (behaviors which relay open messages of discouragement), unintentionally disinviting messages (in which individuals may mean well but are unaware of their condescending and patronizing attitudes toward students of color), and unintentionally inviting behavior (individuals may have a natural ability to relate to students of color, but do not have the training in ethnic awareness, and have little knowledge of diverse cultures). As highlighted by DeSousa and King (1992), the African-American community and student network was identified as a focal arena in which support was obtained and social relationships developed. The current research links experiences of racism with social isolation and an increased need to congregate with those of your same race. This suggests that a lack of African-American students and/or faculty members (or other people of color) could negatively impact the student of color's experience within education.

Responses also reflected a concept outlined by Gibbs (1973) in which students of color were expected to assimilate to White culture within the campus or surrounding community milieu. This was evident by the lack of ethnic minority culture within the campus milieu. As mentioned by Johnson-Durgans (1994), another area in which interracial conflict was reported was in residence hall situations, a lack of ethnic minority representation within student government, and the general problem of a lack of students and faculty of color within the educational environment. Within the area of mentorship, participants described a lack of mentoring from African-American professors in particular, and professors of color in general. This affected the students ability to have role models (resulting in a lack of professional identity development), the ability to feel a sense of connection to their educational institution, and the ability to "learn the ropes" of a system.

As stated in past literature (Redmond, 1990; Reskin, 1979; Moore 1982; Wilson & Stith, 1993), respondents considered it of great importance to have an African-American mentor who contributed to the integration and advancement of multicultural programs, to help with educational and professional transitions, and to improve the quality of the student experience. The dearth of minority faculty in graduate education appeared to parallel minority student underrepresentation. This shortage, according to many respondents, is currently not being addressed by their administration in the form of recruitment or retention. The limited number of faculty and students of color may be reflective of institutional racism. Bernal and Padilla (1982) suggest that there is a shortage of applied behavioral scientists interested in and prepared for scientific investigation and clinical application of problems affecting the mental health of minority groups. The limited number of faculty and students of color within psychology graduate training, then, raises serious concern as to who will work with and study people of color.

Experiences of racism within the classroom were particularly poignant. The continued existence of negative stereotypes of African-American individuals was supported by the current study. The dynamic of "having to speak for one's race" was mentioned repeatedly. Another interesting finding was the frequency with which racism was experienced from professors and faculty members. Perhaps some might make the assumption that an individual with a doctorate or who teaches at a university level might have enough insight as to curtail overtly racist comments. Apparently not. What is additionally disturbing, is that these perceptions and ideologies come from individuals who hold quite a bit of power over students. One wonders, then, how much these racist perceptions (in combination with lowered expectations of African-American students) may carry over into the evaluations and assessment of African-American students.

Equally troublesome were reports of problematic relations with academic advisors. Some participants reported being advised or dissuaded from attending college or graduate school. Again, racist and stereotypical perceptions and assumptions may motivate such activity. One may question, how many bright, able African-Americans have been discouraged from pursuing educational degrees? Could these dynamics possibly explain why less than 8% of ethnic minorities in the United States earned doctoral degrees from 1993-1994? (APA, 1995). Why are only approximately 2.2% of psychologists in the United States African-American? (APA, 1995). The findings of the current research provides data that may help to address these questions. Additionally, many participants spoke to this issue in relation to the future of African-American children and youth. Having survived many of the aforementioned barriers, participants articulated their concerns for the future of African-American children, not only in relation to a lack of or the contamination of racist academic advisement, but to the quality of education received. On an institutional level, this speaks to the allocation of funds and resources schools receive within predominately African-American (or other predominately minority) districts. If those who have the power to disperse funds and resources possess racist beliefs (be they overt or

covert) and have lowered expectations of African-American children, they may be less inclined to bestow these resources upon these neighborhoods. This could result in African-American children receiving a lesser quality education than their White counterparts.

Another striking finding was in relation to experiences of racism within the academic social environment. Seventy-one percent of respondents stated that they had been either physically attacked, stopped, questioned, or harassed while walking either on campus or within the surrounding community. Thus, it is apparent that the "older" forms of racism are alive and well in addition to the "newer", less obvious forms (Dovidio & Gaerter, 1986; Feagin, 1980; Kinder & Sears, 1981).

Experiences and Perceptions of Racism Specific to Graduate Training in Psychology

The fourth research question asked: in what ways do African-American graduate psychology graduate students experience or perceive racism specific to their training in psychology? This research has allowed for further examination of the manifestation of racism specific to psychology graduate training.

Participants were able to describe experiences they attributed to racism in relation to their training. In particular, the data further supports the notion that there is a lack of diversity and multiculturalism currently being taught and incorporated into psychological training. Areas in which racism were experienced specifically included internship experiences, within the classroom, and administration policies and practices. Participants routinely spoke of being taught from primarily a Western-European perspective, a lack of exposure to issues related to people of color or other oppressed groups within course curriculum and other institutional requirements (i.e., qualifying exams), and a lack of culturally competent professors and supervisors with internship experiences. These results support both the social dominance theory (Sidanius, Pratto, Martin, & Stallworth 1991) and the dominant social paradigm (Eisler, 1987). The teaching from primarily Western-European theoretical frameworks perpetuates the myth that those are the more valid modes of thought. Further support has been attained for the establishment and existence of a social hierarchy which results in institutional discrimination.

Racism within psychology graduate training was repeatedly described in relation to the apathy and unresponsiveness, resistance, and open hostility toward the incorporation of multiculturalism by White students and faculty. Participants reported constantly being questioned and challenged when presenting a thought from their own cultural perspective. This research supports statements made by Wilson and Stith (1993), in which African-American students were told to do additional readings and seek outside clinical experiences if they were interested in obtaining experience with diverse clientele populations. Students also reported being coerced into conducting research and writing on established but undesirable topics so that they "could get the degree", and were dissuaded from exploring topics that were multicultural in nature.

Implications for Clinical Practice

The current data support literature outlining the connection of racism and stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Myers, 1982; Slavin, Rainer, McCreary & Gowda, 1991). Specifically, as stated by Myers (1982), chronic experiences of racism lead to a state of "hyper-vigilance" and reactivity for many participants. This could be interpreted as coping modes of surviving in unsupportive or even hostile environments. The constant exposure to both overt and covert instances of racism, can understandably cause one to question who is trust worthy and who is not. This cognitive process of always having to discern what people or situations can be trusted adds an additional amount of stress which people of color may have to endure (Jackson & Sears,

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1992). This study also supports the idea that consistent experiences of isolation and alienation can further create a heightened sense of stress.

Consistent and chronic experiences of racism within education, as well as within general life, have serious implications on an individual level. As stated by Outlaw (1993), stress is recognized as an important factor in determining health and well-being. Chronic conditions of racism may even be debilitating. Harrell, Merchant, and Young (1996) discuss five interrelated indices of well-being including: physical well-being (manifested in problems such as hypertension, digestive disorders, cardiovascular disease, substance abuse, and cancer); psychological well-being (refers to the degree of mental health/illness such as depression, despair, rage, thought disorder, and trauma-related symptoms); spiritual well-being (reflected in a sense of meaning purpose for one's existence); social well-being (the desire and capacity for relationships to others and a sense of belongingness, conectedness, and affiliation with a reference group); and functional well-being (which is manifested in the ability to engage in day-to-day tasks in domestic, educational, or occupational domains). All of the above areas have the potential to be negatively affected due to experiences of and constant exposure to racism.

Further, the participants in this study were in graduate school. It is fair to assume that they have either a relative amount of privilege or the ability to obtain certain resources. One can only imagine the effects of racism upon those who may be constantly exposed to potentially violent situations, and have very limited resources and privilege as the result of racism. Thus, further research implications might include the exploration of racism and stress as related to "self-destructive" behaviors such as drug abuse, domestic violence, community violence, and even suicide.

Clinically, variables and experiences identified by this study may be used to normalize an individual's process. These chronic experiences of racism can also be factored in as possible contributions to student's experiences of anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem. Instead of a student attributing various experiences of racism to a lack of competence, feeling unworthy or devalued, or personalizing such events in other negatively affective ways, the student might arm him/herself and enhance their coping modalities by understanding that such events occur in many instances, to other students, and perhaps across the nation. By not "owning" such occurrences, their sense of self may not be as negatively impacted. Similarly, an important predictor of minority student retention and adaptation may be the students ability to understand and deal with racism within their educational experiences, and a commitment to fighting to improve the existing system. This way they could actively partake in activities that might change their experience- further providing a sense of empowerment.

Clinical interventions could focus on mediator components (i.e., internal characteristics-cognitive processes and personality characteristics) including: self-efficacy, self-esteem, mastery, resulting in the avoidance of self-fulfilling prophecies (Harrell, 1996b). Connections with external supports (intragroup, intergroup community, environmental and institutional) may assist in aiding the individual in coping with stress related to racism, thereby mediating affective and behavioral responses. "Well-being is generally facilitated by eliminating the stressor, changing the nature or perception of the stressor, or by strengthening the internal or external resources needed to deal effectively with the stressor." (Harrell, 1996b, p. 33). The assessment of functional and dysfunctional coping strategies may also aid the student of color in coping with problematic and hostile environments. The current research suggests "positive" coping strategies utilized by African-American students in coping with their educational environments.

Implications for Education and Training

The current research assists in the identification of problems African-American students (and perhaps other students of color) can experience while attending college and/or graduate school.

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Identifying such factors might aid in the reduction or elimination of such experiences via program development, academic counseling/advisement, and a change in administrative policies and practices. Because African-American students may experience a great amount of interfering problems suggests that that they have an extremely stressful experience within higher education. This information may aid institutional departments such as Student Affairs in the construction of forums or other forms of program development in assisting with the reduction of such stressful experiences. Additionally, this information can aid various departments within a school or university to identify how that program may be contributing to racism perpetrated upon students of color.

Educationally, the current research has identified several areas in which an institution and administration can be helping in mediating the potentially stressful experiences. Program development regarding peer and faculty mentoring may add to student support on campus. This research also speaks to the need to recruit and retain faculty of color to provide this mentoring. Further, a more thorough examination of educational systems across the United States and within various levels needs to occur. An examination of the content of what children and adults are being taught is necessary. It appears, to a large extent, that the indoctrination of White ideals and values continue to dominate and infiltrate many educational system. This speaks to the continued denial of ethnic minority realities, and supports the notion of institutional racism.

To what extent is the profession of psychology taking responsibility for the production of culturally competent psychologists? Recent guidelines suggest the need for culturally competent mental health professionals. These guidelines further specify the importance of incorporating the consideration of sociopolitical factors, such as racism discrimination in mental health practice (APA, 1993; Harrell, 1996b; Sue, Arrendondo, & McDavis, 1991). The current research suggests, that what is outlined on paper and stated in theory, may not being implemented in practice within psychology graduate training (i.e., courses, internships, examinations). The current research speaks to the fact that attention must be paid to these areas.

This lack of sensitivity to and perceived need for multiculturalism within psychology training can be reflective of institutional racism. This suggests that many graduate institutions are failing to produce culturally competent psychologists. This holds implications for the quality of care received by clientele and the ethical standards under which psychologists practice. Further, this holds implications to the perpetuation of racism found in mental health treatment and service delivery, racism and research in psychology, and racism within theories related to ethnic minorities (Fernando, 1988; Gardner, 1990; Ivey, 1987; May, 1985). A lack of multicultural training may also lead to the production of racist research and theory (Rogler, 1989; Vega, 1992; Zane & Sue, 1983).

Specific suggestions for the reduction of institutional racism within psychology graduate training, and the production of culturally competent psychologists include: anti-domination training (Brown, 1993), racism awareness training (Turner & Kramer, 1995), and cultural sensitivity training. These suggestions need to be institutional requirements. This means going beyond a continuing educational workshop taken once a year. This form of education must take place at every educational level, throughout every course, and within every practicum or internship experience. Particular training on racism and its effects should be part of the education of mental health professionals. Specific suggestions included: required multicultural courses (in addition to the infusion of diversity throughout all courses), experiential laboratory classes which discusses the oppression of all groups, the exposure to diverse experiences and clientele within internship experiences, and the inclusion of multicultural issues within qualifying examinations within the institution. Perhaps these suggestions might contribute to the accountability of institutions in the preparation of culturally competent mental health professionals.

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Implications for Future Research

The proposed research has implications for future research in several areas. First, similar research to this needs to be conducted throughout the United States to see if these experiences and realities are perceived throughout the country. The current research can provide implications for future research exploring experiences of other groups of color and can look at between group differences and similarities. The current research supports this implications in the fact that Latinos were frequently mentioned in relation to vicarious experiences of racism, suggesting that they may be having similar experiences. Additionally, implications arise in terms of the study of other "isms" such as heterosexism, and sexism, and the student experience of other historically oppressed student groups such as women, gays and lesbians, the disabled, etc. Other disciplines outside of psychology can be explored in relation to institutionally racist practices that may exist in those disciplines (i.e., social work, medicine, etc.). Also, racism within various levels of education can be explored (i.e., within high school, junior high school, elementary school, and so on). Implications may also exist in that administrative policies and programs can be better designed to serve the needs of students of color in psychology graduate training and perhaps within higher education in general. Thus, a reduction of interfering problems can be persued in the service of enhancing the educational and interpersonal experiences of graduate students of color in psychology.

This research also has implications for student retention and attrition, and the extent to which environmental or social factors may add to student attrition. This may provide insight into interventions aimed at mediating experiences of racism. A further exploration of potential gender differences among Black men and women would be of interest. While there was not a large enough sample in the current study to warrant generalizations, the vicarious experiences of racism described indicate that Black men may experience more overt racism due to their being perceived as more threatening than women. A final area in which further exploration is necessary and which this research may serve as a knowledge base, are the various areas in life (i.e., work, social interactions, etc.) in which racism may be experienced.

Conclusion

This study represents only a very small first step towards a more comprehensive understanding of racism within education, and within psychology training. It is this author's viewpoint that the concept of multiculturalism may often be seen as an additive feature of psychology programs; a sign of the times, a passing attachment of "political correctness". With the use of actual words and experiences of those experiencing and surviving racism on a daily basis, it was the intent of this research to demonstrate that interpersonal, environmental, and institutional racism is alive and well with education and psychology training. Sadly, many aspects of the current research replicates findings and statements made in literature which is up to 30 years old. This suggests that very little has changed in the reduction of racism within education and that it is still very strongly in existence, on various levels and within various areas and dimensions. Racism is an intensely chronic problem which infiltrates all systems. It is necessary that multiculturalism be infused not only within the training of current and future psychologists, but throughout society.

This study could not be complete without reflecting upon the courage of those who have able to withstand the enormous pressures and adversities, and have still prevailed and thrived. What is interesting to this researcher is the general naiveté of the general public. Individuals and institutions must realize that groups of people will not allow themselves to be oppressed, be it overtly or covertly, continuously over time. Revolutions are said to occur after the oppressed have experienced or been presented with a ray of hope. While segregation may have been

"officially" removed, affirmative action implemented (as recently removed within some institutions) and more overt expressions of racism have technically appeared to have been eliminated, it may only be a false token of faith. Based on the current research, it could be argued that racism over the years has not necessarily lessened, just changed form. Current research supports the existence of the subtleties of racism are very much alive and well within American education (at least within psychology graduate training). It may not be as obvious as racism of the past. Policy makers, teachers, and others in power positions may think that they have become more clever at masking the perpetration of racism, or may be unaware that they perpetuate racism at all. This research holds very serious concerns for the future of us all. To quote one of the research participants, "Society has a long way to go".

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